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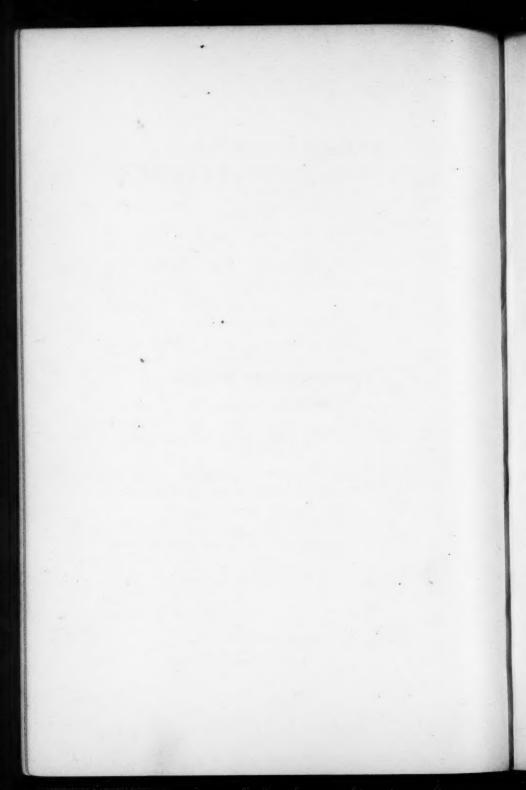
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MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

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HISTORICAL NEWS, NOTES AND COMMENT

H ANDBOOK of the War for Public Speakers, a little pamphlet of some 125 pages, should be in the hands of everyone who would take an intelligent part in helping forward the great campaign of patriotic education that is sweeping over America. It can be secured for a mere nominal price to cover the cost of printing (25 cents) from The National Security League, 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City. Its form fits a coat pocket so that it can be easily carried. Specially important are the chapters "Why the United States had to enter the war," and "Why the United States must continue in the war."

The facts this little book contains are well authenticated. The senior editor is Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, Professor of Government in Harvard University, author of The War in Europe: Its Causes and Results; also National Ideals Historically Traced; and various works on American history and government. As one of the founders and leaders of the American Historical Association and one of the foremost American historical thinkers and writers, he has in editing this volume personally vouched for the truth of the statements respecting America's entrance into the war as presented in this handbook. The volume may well serve as the touchstone for citizens as well as speakers upon the issues of the war.

A brief summary of the material in the two chapters above noted may be of immediate use to readers of the Magazine.

The United States is in the war principally for two reasons: First, because the German Government made war upon us; second, because of the kind of world we would have to live in if Germany should win,—a world in which the relations between nations would be determined by the doctrine of the survival of the physically strongest,—a world of big armaments and constant war.

Before we entered the war, Germany had killed some 250 American citizens who were exercising rights unquestioned under the law of nations. They were traveling on the high seas under the presumed protection of their Government.

The United States solemnly warned Germany (Feb. 10, 1915) that such acts were "an indefensible violation of neutral rights," that she would be held to "strict accountability," and that we would take any steps necessary "to safeguard American lives and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."

The warning was repeated more than once. It was earnestly hoped, and by many believed, that Germany would mend her ways, and we waited to see. The American democracy, any democracy, is not easily provoked to war. The great masses of the people desire peace; and for this reason democracy is the hope of the world. The American Government is controlled by public opinion, and even under repeated insult, public opinion must be given time to crystallize,—this Lincoln knew, when he waited two years before issuing the emancipation proclamation freeing the slaves. Germany knew this well, and for two years she continued to kill American citizens on the high seas.

After the sinking of the Lusitania, President Wilson again solemnly protested and warned Germany that the United States could not recognize any right of the Imperial German Government to kill American citizens bound on peaceful errands, whether or not in a war zone. With the utmost earnestness he set forth "the practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of an enemy's commerce" without "inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity"; because, it is practically impossible for a submarine to examine the papers and cargo of a merchant vessel at sea, or to make prize of her, or to sink her without endangering the lives of all on board.

Further, he pointed out that "no warning that an unlawful and inhumane act will be committed can possibly be accepted as an excuse or palliation for that act or as an abatement of the responsibility for its commission."

At the same time, a most solemn warning was conveyed in these words: "The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

These words were unmistakable. But Germany did not take them seriously. Germany's whole diplomatic dealings with us are shown by documents now widely published to have been grossly perfidious. Whatever slight concessions she made were solely to gain time, until she should be able to make submarines enough to launch a campaign of ruthless destruction of commerce in spite of our warnings.

In addition to the submarine attacks, the German Government went further. Throughout 1915 and 1916 it carried on in the United States, in our very midst, a secret campaign to cripple and disable us so that even when public opinion should be aroused we would not be able to retaliate. It fomented strikes and hired agents to destroy munitions plants. It subsidized a propaganda of disloyalty among citizens of German birth and with consumate effrontery placed spies even in our offices of government. It organized upon American soil unlawful conspiracies and military expeditions against countries with which we were at peace. It incited to insurrection in Cuba, in Haiti, in San Domingo. It subsidized papers and supported speakers to arouse bitterness of feeling against us in South America, in Mexico, and Japan, to embroil us in war. It became clear that even if we should give up our right to travel on the sea, and surrender to Germany's threats, Germany's activities right in our midst and among our neighbors were becoming too serious to be ignored.

The "Zimmermann note" is fresh in the memory of all; at the very time that Germany was expressing a cordial friendship for the people of the United States, this note was passed, dated January 19, 1917, from the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Zimmermann) to the German Minister in Mexico:

"On the 1st of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

"If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico.

"That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement. "You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once with this plan; at the same time, offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

"Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.

(Signed) "Zimmermann."

Twelve days after this (Jan. 31, 1917) Germany proclaimed her ruthless submarine campaign. She said they would destroy without warning and without safeguard for passengers or seamen all ships, whatever the nationality, found by German submarines in certain vast areas of the high seas. It would make no difference what cargoes these ships might carry nor to what destinations they might be bound.

This was defiance. The plan was speedily carried out. Several American ships, all of them bound on peaceful missions, some of them for American ports, were destroyed with loss of American lives.

This was war. These acts constituted acts of war by Germany against the United States just as much as if war had been actually declared by the German Government. Congress could not but recognize them as such, and did so, April 4th and 6th. We had no alternative except cowardly submission to lawless force.

We are at war, then, in the first place, because Germany made war upon us. The American citizen who professes that he can not see this has something fundamentally the matter with his Americanism.

It may be difficult to maintain the poise of a judge now that we have become a participant in the great struggle. Ought American citizens to have kept off of these boats? Listen to these words of President Wilson, in his letter to Senator Stone (Feb. 24, 1916):

"For my own part, I can not consent to any abridgement of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the Nation are involved. We covet peace, and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor. To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation indeed. It would be an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiesence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere, and of whatever nation or allegiance. It would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesman, even amidst the turmoil of war, for the law and the right. It would make everything this Government has attempted, and everything it has achieved during this terrible struggle of nations, meaningless and futile."

Again, ought we to have stopped selling munitions to the belligerents? Suppose we had yielded to Germany in this matter, it is clear what this would have meant ultimately. If such a principle were written into international law, that neutrals should not sell munitions to warring nations, we could not consistently in a war of our own obtain munitions from neutrals. Hence that nation which in time of peace had accumulated the largest war supplies would be assured of victory. In other words the militarist state, the autocratic state like Germany that invested its money in reserves of

munitions, would be at a fatal advantage over a free people who invested their wealth in schools. It would mean, ultimately to hand over the world to that nation which should maintain the largest armament factories.

The fact that Germany was not in position to buy munitions from us does not alter the principle. Both Germany and Austria sold munitions to warring states so late as the Balkan wars of 1912-13. In effect, what Germany asked of us was, to become her ally; and such we would have become had we yielded to her demands, for in doing so we would have acted upon no moral principle or recognized agreement governing the relations of nations. On the other hand, we would have denied to the Allies an international right recognized even by Germany's own practice. To have refused to sell munitions to the Allies would have been, under the circumstances, essentially an act hostile to the Allies, and would have worked powerfully toward the end of securing a German victory.

But there are deeper reasons for our entrance into the war with the German Government. They lie in the spirit and character of that Government. And these deeper reasons are why we must continue to bear our part in the struggle until the essential objects are accomplished.

Submission to Germany's denial of our rights would not have ended there. It would have meant that the American Republic would have become to all peoples a legitimate object of contempt. It would have been an unmistakable proof that the most solemn declarations of the United States were mere empty words. Thereafter the United States would neither have received nor deserved consideration in the councils of the nations.

It is a narrow-minded provincial and unworthy outlook to argue that Americans "should have stayed home and minded their business." Because, whether we will or not, America does not and cannot live alone. She is a member of a group of nations and she must bear her part honorably in the international questions involved in that relation. Had America submitted to Germany, her ability in the future to serve those ideals for which she stands would have been weakened beyond measure.

Entirely apart from Germany's direct attacks upon us, if we had to choose war, there could be no question of where that choice would lie, for our own safety and the safety of democracy in the world. The ideals for which America stands the German Government despises. To her these ideals are negative and weak,—how else, indeed, to an aggressive hereditary autocracy claiming to rule not by the will of the governed but by "divine right," and recognizing in its relations with other nations no moral obligations. Opposite as the poles to this is the spirit of the Allies,—of England, of France, of New Russia, of Italy. As it is, Germany compelled us to choose whether we would tacitly and cravenly fight with her, or fight against her. Our choice of the latter was in accord with every consideration of loyalty to our national ideals and of prudence in safeguarding our national security.

Consider what even a partial victory for Germany would mean. First, it would mean that the German method of initiating and conducting war would be vindicated by success. In the minds of the German people thereafter, this would be the model to be followed in future wars. It would be likely to be the model for any other ambitious nation which might be tempted by Germany's victory to seek national aggrandizement by war.

The essential principle of that method is that "military necessity knows no law." And, as a corollary, it knows no considerations of humanity, good faith, honor or chivalry; on this principle, neutrals have no rights that Germany is bound to respect if she finds it advantageous to violate them. The inspiring of fear and terror is reduced to a science in dealing with conquered peoples; the presence of German armies on foreign soil is to be made so terrible to the civilian population that all peoples may be made afraid to oppose so ruthless a force. This method, as actually employed by the German Government in this war, has included the drowning of women and children of neutral nations on the high seas, sinking hospital ships and drowning wounded soldiers and Red Cross nurses, bombing hospitals and schoolhouses, killing innocent hostages in occupied lands, deporting thousands of non-combatants to work at forced labor against their kindred, violating nunneries, and tearing women and young girls from their homes to a life worse than death.

Listen to this statement by an eminent German authority on war, in a book widely read in Germany: "Whoever uses force, without any consideration and without sparing blood, has sooner or later the advantage if the enemy does not proceed in the same way. One can not introduce a principle of moderation into the philosophy of war without committing an absurdity. It is a vain and erroneous tendency to wish to neglect the element of brutality in war merely because we dislike it."—(Quoted from Von Clausewitz, Vom Kriege, Vol. I, page 4.)

Another: "It would be giving up ourselves to a chimera not to realize that war in the present will have to be conducted more recklessly, less scrupulously, more violently, more ruthlessly, than ever in the past Distress, the deep misery of war, must not be spared to the enemy state The burden must be and must remain crushing. The necessity of imposing it follows from the very idea of national war."—(General J. von Hartmann, cited in Lavisse and Andler, German Theory and Practice of War.)

It must be made clear by this war, that any Government that adopts such principles and employs such methods, and that any people which can knowingly tolerate such a Government, will bring upon itself not merely the condemnation, but the effectual opposition of the civilized world.

Imagine what a German victory would mean to every peaceloving nation on the face of the earth. A German victory gained by these methods would be based upon treaty-breaking, violation of international law and international compacts, for all of these methods have been condemned by most nations as barbarous and pertaining to unenlightened ages. But these methods would be glorified by a German victory. It would mean that hereafter all laws and compacts between nations would have little or no force. No nation, after such a shining example of the futility of such agreements, for its own safety, could afford to place reliance in them. All international obligations would be reduced to "scraps of paper," and the world become an armed camp. A victory over Germany therefore is essential to all peaceful peoples who desire that among nations as among individuals respect for contracts shall be enforced and a reign of law shall prevail.

Germany offers peace, but a German peace. Can the nations honorably make peace with Germany now, on the basis of "no annexations, no indemnities?" Assuming even the restoration of all conquered areas, the damage Germany has done to them will cripple them for generations of the future. Much less can be pardoned the shameful dishonor and grossly criminal conduct of a brutal soldiery to helpless women and children and to the aged who had to witness these crimes and then were enslaved or murdered in cold blood. Germany must be punished, then we can talk of peace with honor.

Moreover, what reason have we to suppose that Germany would keep her plighted word? Until that time when she shall be stripped of her power for harm, no lasting peace for the world is possible. A peace without either such a defeat of Germany as will weaken the German power and influence over central Europe, or else a radical transformation of the temper as well as the form of the German Government, would mean that all Europe must continue to be menaced by the most formidable and heartless political and military combination the world has seen. A victorious Germany would be left in virtual control of a compact body of more than 150,000, 000 people, comprising Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and probably eventually the Balkan states. The German people, expanding in the national pride of success, would be confirmed in their belief in the profitableness of aggression. Bitter would be their hostility to the democracies which had recently opposed them! Under such conditions it would be impossible that the world should be "safe for democracy," or that there should be any prospect of a lasting peace.

A victorious Germany wielding such an increase of power, prestige, and influence, with ambitions unsatiated and with a special grievance against the United States as opposed to her ideals and aggressions, would make this country a special object of her intrigue and ultimate attack. These many years

the British navy and the French army have stood between German aggression and the New World. With these bulwarks removed, the Monroe Doctrine would be in grave danger. It is entirely logical to assume that if England and France were decisively beaten and compelled to accept terms dictated by Germany, that Germany would demand concessions of land to the north of us in Canada and to the south of us in South America, where she would be within easy striking distance of the United States. How then could we escape the burden of military preparation to meet this attack, such as Germany has forced upon France for generations?

The object of this war should be, if possible, to end war. But the success of Germany would cause the shadow of war to rest for generations upon mankind. The affairs of the entire globe would be dominated by a vast Power contemptuous of other peoples, without regard for its plighted word, alien to the spirit of kindliness and fraternity, looking upon force and sinister intrigue as the only means for the adjustment of relations between states, and hostile to the ideals of free government.

In behalf of the German people as distinguished from the German Government, let us recall these words of President Wilson in the war message to Congress: "We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering the War. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old unhappy days, when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the

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interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellowmen as pawns and tools."

And for emphasis, again he says in the same message: "We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us, however hard it may be for them for the time being to believe that this is spoken from our hearts."

In July of 1914 when war threatened, there was a strong peace party in Germany. Earnest protests were made against war. In Berlin on one day, 28 mass meetings were held to denounce the war, and one of them is said to have been attended by 70,000 people. That was before war began. But how is it now?

The German press, German speakers, every source of knowledge for the people, has been absolutely controlled by the German Government since the beginning of the war. It has systematically molded public opinion, and the public will. It has falsified the aims of the Allies, and glorified the "achievements" of the armies of the Fatherland. It can say, with truth, no enemy has yet set foot on German soil,—and it can point to substantial conquests of enemy lands, still in their hands. Not only have they filled the German mind with the pride of conquest, but they have fired the ambition of the German people to believe that "with God's aid" the German nation is to conquer the world and to rule supreme as God's chosen people.

Listen to this, from Pastor W. Lehmann: "Germany is the center of God's plan for the world." And this, from Dr. Preuss, "It was the hidden meaning of God that he made

Israel the forerunner of the Messiah, and in the same way he has by his hidden intent designated the German people to be His successor."

But listen to the true meaning of this appeal to God for the deception of the German people, in Friedrich Naumann's "Briefe ueber Religion," printed before the war, in which he says: "The more exclusively Jesus is preached, the less does he help to form states; and where Christianity attempted to come forward as a constructive force, that is, to form states, to dominate civilization, there it was furthest away from the Gospel of Jesus. Now this means, for our practical life, that we construct our house of the state, not with the cedars of Lebanon, but with the building stones from the Roman Capitol Hence we do not consult Jesus when we are concerned with things which belong to the domain of the construction of the state and of Political Economy."

It would affront the intelligence of American citizens to comment further upon what this sort of doctrine means. The German people have tolerated a Government which stands for such doctrine and for the ideals that make possible the atrocities of the German army. The most physically fit of the German people are now in the German army. The German army is the weapon of the German Government. Is there doubt in the mind of any true American about his own duty or the duty of the American soldier?

Listen to Otto Kahn, one of the most prominent of German Americans, speaking June 1, 1917:

"Speaking as one born of German parents, I do not hesitate to state it as my deep conviction that the greatest service which men of German birth or antecedents can render to the country of their origin is to proclaim, and to stand up for those great and fine ideals and national qualities and traditions which they inherited from their ancestors, and to set their faces like flint against monstrous doctrines and acts of a rulership which have robbed them of the Germany which they loved and in which they took just pride, the Germany which had the good will, respect and admiration of the world.

"I do not hesitate to state it as my solemn conviction that the more unmistakably and whole-heartedly Americans of German origin throw themselves into the struggle which this country has entered in order to rescue Germany, no less than America and the rest of the world from those sinister forces that are, in President Wilson's language, the enemy of all mankind, the better they protect and serve the repute of the old German name and the true advantage of the German people."

What, then, is now being settled on the battlefields of Europe? It is the character of the coming world-order. Shall it be ruled in the spirit of the German Emperor, or shall it be ruled in the spirit of Lincoln? Listen once again, to a contrast of ideals. Friedrich von Bernhardi, the German Lieutenant General who speaks for the Imperial German Government, says in his Germany and the Next War:

"Might is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war" (page 23); again (page 37): "The inevitableness, the idealism, and the blessedness of war as the indispensable and stimulating law of development must be repeatedly emphasized."

Over against this, place Lincoln: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in—to bind up one another's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."—(Second Inaugural Address, 1865.)

America is for a permanent world peace. This is America's war, to end war. In it is at stake all that America has stood for, all that our fathers have died for, the hope of mankind. The world can not endure half for peace and half for war. It is for us to decide which of these ideals shall prevail.

THE TEACHING OF MICHIGAN HISTORY will always be a subject of interest to Michigan people. That it should be taught, most will agree. But how it should be taught, and when, and where, and how much, are questions that have not yet been answered fully.

In the January number of the Magazine attention was called to the careful thought of Miss Minetta Warren upon this subject, in a review of a paper presented at the last meeting of the Michigan State Teachers' Association at Grand Rapids. At that meeting there was read also a paper by Miss Mary Harden, of the South High School, Grand Rapids, which she has on request sent to us. The significant feature of this paper is the special emphasis laid upon teaching Michigan in its relations with American national development, particularly the extension of the frontier and the growth of the Middle West.

Indeed State history as a part of the United States history is a fruitful thought. In this connection Miss Harden points out that history consists essentially of the relationships of a community's life, and that Michigan as one of the vital

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organs of the American Union can be understood only when her many and varied relationships to the Union are understood. The sum of those relations is a time relation as well as a place relation,—a causal relation of people, ideas and institutions,—hence the necessity of studying Michigan in her relations with national growth for the larger outlook and for the real meaning of her life as a State.

This view appeals to us at once when we consider what the master historians tell us of the proper study of United States history. The United States, as a nation, is one of the sister nations of the earth, and the proper study of its history involves the interpretation of its life in relation to the life of all nations, and of all time, for the stream of historic causality reaches to us from remotest antiquity. This truth, almost a commonplace, is now being impressed with startling reality by the Great War which shows how closely the world has been knitted together, especially in these latter days, by the complexities of human interests, due largely to scientific triumphs is annihilating the separations of time and space.

"America for Americans" has never been a slogan that appealed to very many thoughtful people. "Michigan for Michigan people," as a slogan of the same type, is sensed by all to be a very narrow and selfish way to celebrate the high human interests of the State. "Michigan for all the Union" is better, and is in fact in keeping with what the people of Michigan have as a whole throughout their history actually lived, in war as well as in peace. They lived this principle in the Civil War, in all of the wars of the Union; and today, if one may judge by their enthusiasm for the world cause of democracy at stake in the Great War, they are actually, even consciously, living "Michigan for the World." This is involved in the

happy phrase used by President Wilson, "to make the world safe for democracy," whereby only can the world be safe for Michigan and for all that it stands.

Yet just as we may study the internal history, the so-called "domestic" history, of the United States, so we may study the "domestic," internal, history of Michigan, a phase that must not be lost out of view. It is an essential means to the larger outlook, and in studying this internal history there is scarcely a point at which its national bearings can not be pointed out by the "teacher who knows."

As Miss Harden suggests, here may be the crux of the problem,—to get teachers of history sufficiently familiar with Michigan's internal history to be able to connect it up with its national bearings. For example, how many history teachers can name Michigan's first Governor, or give the date of his inauguration,—not to speak of the national matter of why our first Governor came from Virginia, or the national situation that involved his administration in difficulties which proved fatal to him as Governor and a serious embarrassment to Michigan as a State.

Teachers are perhaps not to blame for not knowing more about Michigan history. The demand upon their time and energy to prepare for teaching well the great variety of subjects of a crowded curriculum has left them little initiative to take up independently a subject not imperatively and officially required, and little room in the history courses for it if even they should choose to do so.

Teachers in the Eastern States who would teach their State's history may of course teach the early part of it as the beginnings of American colonial history, and much of it for many years after 1789 as being near the focus of national

history. But with the increasing consciousness of the meaning of the expansion of the American frontier westward not only for American institutions but for democracy as a universal principle, the history of Michigan as a part of that expansion takes on the importance of "beginnings." For the centuries of American life which are to come, Michigan is making "beginnings" along with the other States of the conquered frontier. Some definite place and way ought to be made for teaching it.

But in one respect teachers of State history in our Eastern States have an advantage, namely, they can teach the colonial beginnings of their States in more direct relation with English institutional growth. As it is trite to speak of a child's debt to its mother, so is it to speak of America's institutional debt to England, which is the "mother country" literally in all that is best in our democracy. The American Revolution was not so much a struggle between England and the colonies as between liberals and conservatives on both sides of the water. War was precipitated by the stubborn autocracy of the Teutonic King George III, who in one of his intervals between fits of insanity goaded the colonies to a crisis. The greatest statesmen in England of that day defended the colonies in Parliament. And while by the aid of France the colonies won a liberal government through independence, the very same liberties were won later for England in many a stormy scene in the English Parliament between autocracy and democracy. What the emigrating Englishmen gained by war and independent development, the Englishmen who staved at home have gained by Reform Bills, and the study of the inter-relations of that growth in England with the American States and with our National Government is for us a meaningful study.

Miss Harden in her paper may well look askance at the idea of "compulsory Michigan history" in the schools, when in many of our schools as yet there is no distinct place for the thorough teaching of the foundations of American liberty and democracy as developed in the history of England. The German professors tell us that the institutions of human liberty were born in the forests of the Fatherland, and carried to England by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes. They point to the flourishing economic condition of the "common people" of Germany, to the social legislation which they say is "just being copied in England and America," to their "great literature," to their "free schools and compulsory education," etc. But the American boy or girl who is deceived by this as a result of lack of historical instruction in the meaning of "Prussian autocracy" as over against "English democracy" may well lay a heavy charge at the door of the history teaching of his native land. Until we have "compulsory English history," it would seem wise to talk less about forcing Michigan history on the schools.

There is a place for Michigan history in the schools, in connection with our national history, as pointed out by Miss Harden. It should be used to illustrate the westward migration and transplanting of those ideals and institutions of Democracy which America has received as an original inheritance, and which our national life has taken up and transformed into the Union of States between the oceans. At the end of the course in American history, it would indeed be well and proper to bring together the main threads of our State history, by from four to six weeks of intensive study, using Hemans' History of Michigan, or Mr. Pattengill's little book, or Professor Larzelere's when it is ready, and such aids as the Michigan Historical Commission provides.

Of Professor Larzelere's book, whose author hardly needs an introduction to Michigan teachers, who have known him many years in connection with the history department of the Central Michigan Normal School at Mt. Pleasant, a word further may be said. He states that his plan is to make a small book that will be suitable for the upper grammar grades, and that while it is designed as a text-book, he is trying to put into it those features which will make it interesting to young people without sacrificing essentials. He is trying to avoid the bare outline method of treatment, with its mere names, dates, and statistics, and give a readable treatment of the big events and movements. At the end of each chapter he is preparing references for supplementary reading.

To supply the supplementary material for this and other text-books, the long-needed volume of "readings in Michigan history" is being prepared by the Michigan Historical Commission. The Commission is preparing two volumes of this kind, a small volume for grade use, more largely narrative and descriptive, and another to contain the heavier materials illustrating the economic, social and political phases of the State's history. These volumes will not take the place of text-books such as those mentioned, but will furnish ample supplementary reading for all class purposes.

In view of the immediate needs of teachers at the close of the school year, the editor has prepared the following outline, and will be glad to hear from teachers as to their use of it, or upon any other subject related to the study and teaching of Michigan history.

To use this outline to best advantage, teachers should have access to the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, which will be supplied free of charge to any Public or School Library. These 39 volumes have two index volumes, making 41 volumes in the set. In addition, in the back of volume 39 is an author-and-subject index. By means of these indexes abundant material can be found upon the topics in this outline, excepting perhaps the last two, for which the several numbers of the *Michigan History Magazine* and the *Bulletins* of the Historical Commission will be found useful.

Mich Kircher

TWENTY-FIVE TOPICS IN MICHIGAN HISTORY

- I. Discovery and exploration
 - 1. Cartier
 - 2. Champlain
 - 3. Nicolet
 - 4. Marquette and Joliet
 - 5. LaSalle
 - 6. Duluth

II. The Indians

- 1. Prehistoric man in Michigan
- 2. Tribes of the Great Lakes
- 3. Myths, legends and folk-lore
- 4. Manners and customs
- 5. Inter-tribal wars

III. The Missionaries

- 1. Jogues and Raymbault
- 2. Menard and Allouez
- 3. Dablon and Marquette

IV. Early French Settlements

- 1. Fur trade and traders
- 2. Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac

- 3. Cadillac at Detroit
- 4. Old French manners, customs, and traditions
- 5. Cadillac's successors
- 6. Settlements on St. Joseph River

V. Under the British Flag

- 1. French and English commercial rivalry
- 2. Border wars; end of French regime
- 3. Pontiac and the massacres of 1763
- 4. British rule at Detroit and Mackinac

VI. Coming of the Americans

- 1. Moravians and Friends
- 2. Ordinance of 1787; Northwest Territory
- 3. Wayne and the Indians; treaty of 1795
- 4. Northwestern posts; Jay's treaty
- 5. Detroit in 1796
- 6. Wayne County
- 7. Organization of Michigan Territory
- 8. Detroit's great fire in 1805
- 9. Governor Hull
- 10. Judge Woodward
- 11. Indian treaty of 1807

VII. Michigan and the War of 1812

- 1. Indian allies of the British
- 2. Battles of the war
- 3. Treaty of Ghent
- 4. Detroit after the war
- Advantages and disadvantages of the war for Michigan

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VIII. Settlement of Michigan after the War

- Beginning of public land sales at Detroit (1818)
- 2. Treaty of Saginaw
- 3. Detroit in 1819
- 4. "Walk-in-the-Water"; steam navigation on the Great Lakes
- Organization of eastern shore counties: Wayne, Monroe, Macomb, St. Clair
- 6. First inland counties: Oakland, Washtenaw, Lenawee
- -7. Chicago Road
 - 8. Erie Canal
- 9. St. Joseph Valley
- 10. Kalamazoo Valley and Territorial Road
- 11. Grand River region
- 12. Saginaw country
- 13. Harriet Martineau's visit to Michigan
- 14. Cholera epidemics (1832-34)
- 15. Black Hawk War scare
- 16. Negro riot in Detroit
- 17. Early newspapers

IX. Representative Men of Michigan Territory

- 1. Lewis Cass
- 2. William Woodbridge
- 3. Father Gabriel Richard
- 4. Henry R. Schoolcraft
- 5. Stevens T. Mason

X. Questions of Boundary and Statehood

1. Dispute with Ohio; "Toledo War"

- 2. First constitutional convention
- 3. First State constitution
- 4. First State officers
- 5. Lucius Lyon and John Norvell
- 6. "Frost-bitten convention"
- 7. Upper Peninsula
- 8. Michigan-Indiana boundary
- 9. Western boundary
- 10. International boundary

XI. Michigan a State

- 1. Admission to the Union; Michigan Day
- 2. The "Boy Governor"
- 3. Conditions and resources in 1837
- 4. Churches and schools; Primary School Law
- 5. Isaac E. Crary and John D. Pierce
- 6. University and its branches

XII. Some Costly Experience

- 1. "Wild-cat" banking
- 2. Plans for "public improvements"
- 3. "Five million dollar loan"
- 4. "Hard times"
- 5. "Political revolution" of 1840
- 6. Abandonment of "improvement" schemes

XIII. Settlement of Northern Michigan

- 1. "Counties with Indian names"
- King Strang and the Mormons on Beaver Island
- 3. First Upper Peninsula counties
- 4. Copper and copper mining

HISTORICAL NEWS

- 5. Douglas Houghton
- 6. Iron and iron mining
- 7. "Soo" Canal
- 8. Lake commerce
- 9. Railroads
- 10. Lumbering

XIV. Michigan and Slavery

- 1. First legislative resolutions regarding slavery
- 2. Crosswhite case
- 3. Zachariah Chandler
- 4. Birth of a new party at Jackson "under the oaks"
- 5. Battle Creek and the "underground railroad"
- 6. Sojourner Truth
- 7. Election of Abraham Lincoln

XV. Michigan in the Civil War

- 1. Michigan's "War Governor"
- 2. Response to President Lincoln's call for troops
- 3. War legislation
- 4. Michigan regiments
- 5. Battles
- 6. Roll of honor
- 7. Michigan war poems and addresses

XVI. Political and Social Questions

- 1. The "greenback" in politics
- 2. Liquor question
- 3. Equal suffrage
- 4. Australian ballot
- 5. Labor questions
- 6. Constitution of 1909

XVII. Commemoration of Important Events

- 1. Centennial of 1876
- 2. Michigan's fiftieth birthday
- 3. Michigan at the "World's Fair"

XVIII. Notable Disasters

- 1. Forest fires
- 2. Financial panies, 1873 and 1893

XIX. Industrial Development

- 1. Agriculture
- 2. Lumbering
- 3. Mining
- 4. Manufacturing
- 5. Immigration

XX. Transportation and Communication

- 1. Railroad building
- 2. Electric railroads
- 3. Telegraph and telephone
- 4. Press
- 5. Ship canals
- 6. Lake commerce

XXI. Penal and Reformatory Institutions

- 1. Prisons (Jackson, Marquette)
- 2. Industrial School for Boys (Lansing)
- 3. Industrial Home for Girls (Adrian)
- 4. Michigan Reformatory (Ionia)

XXII. Charitable Institutions

- 1. Michigan School for the Blind (Lansing)
- 2. Michigan Employment Institution for the Blind (Saginaw)

- 3. Michigan School for the Deaf (Flint)
- 4. State Public School (Coldwater)
- 5. Michigan Soldiers' Home (Grand Rapids)
- 6. State hospitals (Kalamazoo, Pontiac, Traverse City, Newberry, Ionia)
- 7. Michigan Home and Training School (Lapeer)
- Michigan Farm Colony for Epileptics (Wahjamega)
- 9. Sanatoriums (near Howell, and in Midland County)

XXIII. Educational Institutions

- 1. University of Michigan (Ann Arbor)
- Normal Schools (Ypsilanti, Mt. Pleasant, Marquette, Kalamazoo)
- 3. Michigan Agricultural College (East Lansing)
- 4. Michigan College of Mines (Houghton)

XXIV. Michigan in the Great War

XXV. Historical Work

- 1. Michigan Historical Society of 1828
- 2. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society
- 3. Michigan Historical Commission
 - 4. Local historical societies
 - 5. Cooperative work of Michigan Clubs

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society for 1918 will be held in Lansing, May 28 and 29, jointly with the Midwinter Meeting which was to have been held at Bay City but was postponed on account of war conditions.

As announced in the January number of the Magazine, the program will be in keeping with the spirit which animates all in this crisis of our national life. Among the speakers will be ex-Governors Woodbridge N. Ferris and Chase S. Osborn, who will talk upon the war. Speakers who will represent the Bay City Meeting are Hon. William S. Linton of Saginaw, Mr. James Cook Mills of Saginaw, Mr. Fred Dustin of Saginaw, and Miss Cornelia Richardson of Bay City. Other speakers are Mrs. William H. Wait of Ann Arbor, Miss Sue I. Silliman of Three Rivers, Prof. R. Clyde Ford of Ypsilanti, Rev. Seth Reed of Flint, Hon. Edward Frensdorf of Jackson, Mr. C. E. Bement of Lansing, Mr. W. L. Jenks of Port Huron, and Mr. Norman B. Wood of Elsie.

The subjects will be of wide range and interesting to all. Music of patriotic nature and old-time songs will be sung, and the pioneers and old soldiers will find this one of the most inspiring meetings the Society has held. There will be ample time and a special place on the program for reminiscences of pioneer days and war times, and the meeting should bring to all that spirit of uplift and courage needed in times which try the souls of patriots.

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THE LIFE AND WORK OF GEORGE SYLVESTER MORRIS: A CHAP-TER IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN THOUGHT IN THE NINE-TEENTH CENTURY, by Prof. Robert M. Wenley, of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Michigan, has been brought out by the Macmillan Company as a number in the University of Michigan *Publications*. In nine chapters, comprising 326 pages of text, the author has covered, as indicated by the sub-title, the significant aspects of the philosophical thought in the last century in America with which the life of Professor Morris was coincident and in which it was a living factor. The work, therefore, is a biography in the sense of an interpretation of a life, in relation to that larger intellectual life in which the personality of Professor Morris so nicely functioned.

None but perfect work might be expected from the author. The degree of success with which he has accomplished his task is reflected in the words of President G. Stanley Hall of Clark University, who regards the book as the best biography ever written of any American thinker, and expresses the hope that it may inspire others to similar tasks in behalf of other Michigan men. Unquestionably such work should be undertaken only by eminent men who have the large view so needful for the proper setting of a great life. Professor Morris is most fortunate in having for his biographer a scholar equipped not only with breadth of view and technical skill, but with that intellectual and spiritual sympathy natural to a successor of Prof. Morris in the Department of Philosophy at Michigan, a sympathy felt on every page by the reader as sincere appreciation of the service rendered by Professor Morris to the University.

The rather scant biographical treatment hitherto accorded to men of Michigan is touched upon by Professor Wenley in his preface. He suggests that perhaps this apparent neglect is because the worth of great men is taken for granted. No adequate lives have been written of Tappan, Frieze, Watson, Olney, Hinsdale, all of whom have built their lives into the University. Indeed there is room for another history of the University itself, such as the older institutions of New England and the Eastern States are proud to have inspired. The

recent work done for Yale is typical of what might be done for the great Middle Western center of learning and culture at Ann Arbor. It is earnestly to be wished that Professor Wenley may undertake the task, at least from the point where his predecessor, Andrew Ten Brook, left off, at the close of the Haven administration. At least may we not hope to have from him an interpretation of the life of Dr. Angell, whose years spanned so much that was vital to the University during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a work which would nicely supplement the Morris "Life," rounding out the period immediately subsequent to that covered by Professor Ten Brook in his American State Universities (published in 1875).

Professor Morris came to the University in 1870, as Professor of Modern Languages and Literature, and continued in that work until 1880. In 1881 he began his connection with the Department of Philosophy, where he remained until his death, at Ann Arbor, in 1889. Professor Morris' work as a teacher (Chapter IX) will doubtless be for the general reader the most interesting part of the book, a chapter made up of well-selected quotations of personal evaluations by students and colleagues.

Dr. Angell there speaks of "the humane sweetness of the man which, nevertheless, did not prevent him from holding positive opinions and exhibiting great courage in their expression."

Prof. John Dewey, whose chief Prof. Morris was during many years, writes:

"There is, indeed, nothing to be said of him as a class-room instructor that is not to be said of him as a man. Nothing could have been more foreign to his character than to assume in any respect an attitude or quality in the class-room different from that which marked him elsewhere. There was the same sincerity, the same simplicity, the same force of enthusiasm in him in one place as in another. No 'officialism,' such as sometimes gathers about the work of teaching, ever touched him. He was everywhere simply and only a man.

"But Professor Morris had unusual gifts as a philosophic instructor. He was, among other things, a commentator of the first order. That is, he had the selective eye which made at once for the heart of an author under discussion; he had the pregnant phrase that lays bare this heart to the eye of the student. He had the gift of inspiring in his pupils the same disinterested devotion to truth that marked himself. He conveyed in large measure what, in his essay upon University Education, he himself calls 'the power to detect and will to condemn all essential shams and falsehoods.' Scholarship never lost itself in pedantry; culture never masqueraded as mere intellectualism, without ethical inspiration and backing. He was especially successful in arousing pupils with any particular aptitude for philosophy to advanced and independent work. The spirit of his work was that which he declared should be the spirit of all truly University work-a free teacher face to face with a free student. He once defined idealism as faith in the human spirit; this faith he had, and his voice and his influence were always for broadening the scope and methods of college work, without in any way relaxing the solidity and thoroughness of mental discipline."

The late Professor Hough writes of Morris as a teacher: "Professor Morris was one of the high type of teachers who draw the interest and thought of their students to the work, rather than force the work upon them. He was an inspirer

and guide, not a master. But he did not inspire his hearers by eloquence; he cared little for such effects. You were rather drawn to him and to his teaching by his transparent goodness, his perfect simplicity and sincerity, by the charming, almost fascinating, sweetness of his manner, but above all, I think, by the real substance of what he said, and by the illumination, the flood of light, which his mind always cast upon his theme. Thus if I were asked to say in a word what it was that drew you most to him, I should say it was the beauty of light, the attractive force and satisfaction of light, as conveyed in his thought, and as manifested in his person and presence."

Tributes from two of Prof. Morris' students, as reflecting the "benches," are of special interest,—one by Mrs. Harold B. Wilson, the other by Dr. Elmer E. Brown, formerly United States Commissioner of Education, now Chancellor of New York University. Mrs. Wilson says in part:

"Many teachers get wonderful results through a strong appeal to the individual, with a quick insight into the needs of each. Dr. Morris never made any appeal to this innocent vanity, and no one could be less concerned than he to 'advertise' himself in any way—even by the most refined and indirect methods. One did not feel that this was because he belittled himself or his office, but rather because of a certain austere dignity of character, as well as a lack of self-consciousness

"Even after twenty-five years, it is not possible to speak of Dr. Morris, and all his teaching did for me, without being deeply moved. The intimate, heart-stirring appeal that he made, in his quiet, self-effacing way, to all classes of students, was shown at the time of his death. No one would have been more surprised than he at the impressive, solemnizing outburst; for he was a beloved element in University life, even to those who had never studied with him; and, for those who were his disciples, it was a period of great sorrow."

Chancellor Brown says, writing to Dr. Wenley under date of Feb. 1916: "When I went to the University of Michigan, after some experience in teaching, and older by some years than the average freshman, it was with a well-defined intellectual hunger in several directions. One of these was in the direction of aesthetic appreciation. Another, much more vague, was a desire to understand how philosophy deals with the problems of life. I had known nothing of Professor Morris, but was quickly attracted by his courses in the history of philosophy and in aesthetics. As I remember it now, I made my way into his classes with my first semester in college, and took as much work with him as circumstances and regulations permitted.

"The fineness and elevation of his personal character appealed to me strongly from the start,—the quiet manner, the deliberate and temperate expression, the unmistakable devotion to his subject, even enthusiasm for it, which never flamed out in any violence of expression, but was rather a deep and pervasive glow. I was not at first aware of this warmth. I thought rather of a philosophical detachment and even indifference. But it was not long before I felt the personal conviction of the teacher and his intense loyalty to the doctrines which he set forth

"The news of his death shocked and saddened the whole University. The great body of students, who had never come in personal contact with him, knew that one of the great teachers of the institution was gone. And those of us who

were studying under his direction felt that we had suffered a personal and irreparable loss."

Of the content of Prof. Morris' teaching, his preparation, his early home training, his school and college life, his service in the Civil War, his student days in Europe, and his practical life experiences, Dr. Wenley speaks at length in the body of the book. Incisive and of fascinating interest is the analysis of his subject's "intellectual history" in Chapters VII and VIII. As a general summary of Morris' growth, of his place in the development of American philosophical thought and of his influence on the University, Dr. Wenley says in his preface:

"Although Morris died in his prime and, thanks to an unusual combination of circumstances, just as he was beginning to achieve a final standpoint, his rare personality stamped itself upon this University. Moreover, thanks to his complete equipment in scholarship, he punctuated an epoch in philosophical education at our institutions of the higher learning. What is most significant, perhaps, his intellectual history, despite its sudden end, epitomises that of many minds in his day, because it embodies a representative human experience peculiar to the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly in the English-speaking world. At grave disadvantages in certain respects, he yet takes his place with James Hutchison Stirling, John Caird, Edward Caird, Thomas Green, William Wallace, Robert Adamson, William T. Harris, and C. C. Everett, the idealists of the first generation, who deflected the thought characteristic of Great Britain and the United States, and brought it into the main stream of post-Kantian philosophy. He attained this difficult fellowship late in his career, and only after numerous mental trials, which beset him through one half of his awakened years. This spiritual drama it is that lends present, possibly permanent, interest to the man. At all events, I do not know another figure who typifies so fully the struggles through which we have been enabled to enter upon a larger outlook."

INDIAN LEGENDARY POEMS AND SONGS OF CHEER, by Rev. William Edgar Brown, of Dexter, a member of the Michigan Author's Association, is a little volume delightfully in harmony with the spirit of Spring. Mr. Brown is soon to bring out a larger volume of similar nature which will contain a bibliography of important works on the Indian myths, legends, and traditions, together with a critical evaluation of the legends as to their authenticity and their beauty and interest.

The author has made a study of his subject during some twenty years of close contact with various tribes, as an Indian missionary. He has had access to the best works upon the subject and has used them discriminatingly. His task has been to glean from all available sources the literary gems among the legends and weave them into poetic form to bring out hidden beauty and spiritual truths. Mr. Brown's skill in this work is shown in "The Birth of the Arbutus," "The Legend of the River," "The Lily of the Forest," "The Valley of the Ontonagon," and "Point Iroquois," in the volume now before us.

The new book will contain some 200 pages. In the historical features Mr. Brown is being assisted by the Michigan Historical Commission and in its literary features by instructors at the University of Michigan. It is believed that the work will be a distinct credit to the author and to the State of Michigan.

THE "HISTORICAL MAGAZINE" in one form or another has come to be recognized as a useful publication feature by most historical societies and commissions, State and national. Most readers of the Michigan History Magazine will be acquainted with the official organ of the American Historical Association (The American Historical Review, published by the Macmillan Co., 64-66 Fifth Ave., New York City), and that of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, published at Cedar Rapids, Iowa), and some may wish to know about similar publications in States near Michigan.

The most recent of these, The Wisconsin Magazine of History, issued its first number last September, and a second number in December. The March number had not reached us when we went to press. This Magazine is excellent in every way. Its appearance is very attractive, the cover in blue bearing the Wisconsin State flag, and the text printed in large type with generous margins on high grade paper. Its valuable contents are edited in the usual scholarly manner of Supt. Milo M. Quaife of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. A department of the Magazine that will be specially useful to Michigan people is the Survey of Historical Activities, which pays attention not only to Wisconsin history but to all the historical endeavors of the Middle West. . It presents the past year of the Wisconsin Historical Society as one of unusual activity in researching and publishing. Three volumes, two bulletins, and minor publications were issued. Needless to say, this compares to Wisconsin's advantage with the foremost historical societies in America, not excepting the older societies of New England. Michigan welcomes this generous rival which sets a pace for her in public historical service.

Joseph Waligar

Following is a list of the quarterly State historical magazines likely to be of most interest to Michigan people, with auspices and place of publication:

- Illinois—Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society
 Ill. State Hist. Society, Springfield, Ill.
- Indiana—Indiana Magazine of History

 Dept. of History of Indiana University: Indiana

 Hist. Society; and Indiana State Library.

 (Managing Editor, Bloomington, Indiana)
- Iowa—Iowa Journal of History and Politics
 State Hist. Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
- Minnesota—Minnesota History Bulletin
 Minn. Hist. Society, St. Paul, Minn.
- Missouri—Missouri Historical Review
 State Hist. Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- New York—Quarterly Bulletin, New York Historical Society
 New York Hist. Society, 170 Central Park
 West, New York City.
- Ohio—Ohio Archeological and Historical Quarterly
 Ohio Archeological and Historical Society, Columbus, O.
- Ohio—Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio

 Hist. and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati, O.

Pennsylvania—Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography

Hist. Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Tennessee—Tennessee Historical Magazine
Tenn. Hist. Society, Nashville, Tenn.

Wisconsin—Wisconsin Magazine of History
State Hist. Society of Wisconsin, Madison,
Wis.

A VOLUME of POEMS, ADDRESSES AND TRIBUTES has been issued by the Michigan Historical Commission in memory of the late Hon. Lawton T. Hemans, who was a member of the Commission and its president at the time of his death, Nov. 17, 1916. The volume contains a biographical sketch by Mrs. Hemans, also the memorial address delivered by ex-Governor Woodbridge N. Ferris at the annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society last May. The volume has been widely distributed to Michigan schools and libraries and a few copies may still be had at the office of the Commission.

PRIZE ESSAYS WRITTEN BY PUPILS OF MICHIGAN SCHOOLS IN THE LOCAL HISTORY CONTEST FOR 1916-17 is published by the Historical Commission as Bulletin No. 9, the subject of the essays being "The First School and the Children Who Attended It," in the city or town or school district of the writer. For an extended note on this contest, see the October number of the Magazine for 1917, p. 114.

THE DIFFICULTIES DR. WENLEY ENCOUNTERED in making his study of the life of Professor Morris, in respect of materials, are of the unfortunate kind to which attention has been repeatedly called by the State Historical Society and Commission. No sooner had he begun to gather his sources, than he found himself "amidst a sea of troubles," as appears in the following, taken from his preface:

"The facts indispensable to an adequate biography had been permitted to lapse. To reassemble them, twenty-five years after Morris had entered into rest, I have been compelled to take endless trouble. These difficulties would have been mitigated had his Michigan contemporaries discerned his strategic position in the development of American culture. Moreover, at some points I have been baffled, despite all pains; for those who could have set the situation in proper perspective from personal knowledge had passed away. Nevertheless, on the whole, thanks to the co-operation of Mrs. and Miss Morris, I have met with more success than seemed possible at the first blush. But, I would warn others, that efforts should be made to preserve even details connected with the activities of prominent or influential men. These may very well appear trivial at the moment. Yet, just such trivial things serve to offer important clues after years have elapsed, for, as is obvious, they form the links of every life. How serious the difficulties, due to the lapse of evidence, have been, may be gathered from these facts. I began my researches in the summer of 1910. I was able to begin to write only in October, 1913, and to finish the first draft of the Introduction and Chapters I.—VIII. in January, 1915. Delays caused by obscure episodes were constant: Since the first draft was finished, I have sought to elucidate incidents which remained dark, despite every care. For example, only late in 1915 was I enabled to identify Mr. Larrowe unequivocally. Hundreds of letters were necessary, and many, addressed at a venture to those who had known Morris, either failed to reach their destination or had been sent to dead men."

It is to be hoped that by the cooperation of individuals, libraries and other institutions with the Historical Commission, the facilities for such work as Dr. Wenley has achieved may be increasingly easier with the years in respect of the fullness and accessibility of source materials.

reservation

PRESIDENT WINFIELD LIONEL SCOTT, of the Michigan Authors' Association, has sent us the following sketch of Dr. James Henderson, Michigan poet and artist, and member for the Association:

Dr. Henderson was born on a farm near Ingersoll, Canada, April 7, 1857. He is of Irish parentage. His grandfather, Squire Henderson, attained to the age of one hundred and eight years, his wife to the age of ninety-two years.

Dr. Henderson attended school in Ingersoll. As a pupil he was quiet and studious, and a general favorite with teachers and among his schoolmates.

His first poem was written about the year 1875, was published in a Toronto paper and received the highest encomiums of praise from its editor.

His career as a physician was very successful. His Alma Mater was the Hahnemann Homeopathic College, Chicago, Ill. He took up the practice of his profession in Bad Axe, Michigan, in 1888, continuing there until 1911, at which time he had to give up his practice entirely on account of rheumatism which had rendered him completely helpless, and he has since been a "Shut In."

Being of a happy disposition, however, he has made the best of his affliction, and busies himself with his literary and art work, finding great pleasure therein. As an artist, he has done some creditable work in landscape painting, both in oil and watercolor.

As a writer, Dr. Henderson has long been a recognized poet of merit. His poems have appeared in many of the leading periodicals of this country, and have been widely copied abroad. He is now a contributor to a number of weekly papers in the cities of our land. He is a voluminous writer. His poems have reached the number of five thousand, besides essays, sketches and short stories.

In 1891 Dr. Henderson published a volume of verse, entitled "Threads from the Woof of Melody," which was well received.

Since coming to the United States, in 1880, he has resided here almost continually, becoming a citizen in 1890. In 1896 he was elected delegate to the National Populist Convention held in St. Louis, Missouri, and in 1898 his party nominated him for Congress from the seventh Michigan District. He has been County Physician and Coroner of Huron County, and for many years was Health Officer for the city of Bad Axe.

Dr. Henderson's life has been active. During his extensive country practice, day and night he was on the roads, even in the most inclement weather, ministering to the sick and especially to the poorer classes. He never refused a call, giving up all else to his practice, and the thought that he has been a help and comfort to the afflicted affords him great consolation in his present affliction.

He is a genial companion, loyal as a friend, simple in his tastes, and very fond of his home. He has been twice married. His first wife was Miss Jennie Fisher, of Caseville, Mich., wedded 1881. There were several children. Only one survives. The first Mrs. Henderson died in 1901.

In 1904 he was married to Miss Josephine Smith of Ingersoll, Ontario, a very estimable lady, a ministering angel to him in his nearly helpless condition. They reside in their own home at 121 Belmont Ave., Detroit.

REPORT ON THE ARCHIVES IN THE EXECUTIVE DE-PARTMENT, STATE CAPITOL, LANSING.

THE executive archives cover the period from 1812 to the present time. They are filed in two vaults, an upper and a lower in the Governor's office, and in lockers and a store room on the fourth floor. The archives in the store room belong to the Pardon Board and consist largely of stub-books and papers filed in pigeon holes.

Most of the papers in all the filing places are unclassified. In many instances papers relating to the same subject are scattered through a number of file boxes among materials bearing on other matters. For this reason in many cases it is possible only to approximate the amount of material and in no case can more definite information be given than to state in which of the four filing places the papers are located.

(A)=Upper Vault

(B)=Lower Vault
(C)=Fourth floor lockers

(D)=Pardon Board's store room

fb=Filebox

Census

Returns from Michigan, counties by townships, 1834, 1 fb.

Commissions

Appointive officers, 1906-1912, 3 stub-books. (A) Expired commissions, list of, 1834. (A)

Where the number of file boxes is not stated, part or all of the material in question is filed in boxes with other kinds of material.

Notaries Public

Commissions issued by Gov. Wisner, 1859. (A) Unclaimed commissions, 1 fb. (B)

Orders for commissions

Appointive officers, Nos. 1501 to 2250, January 6, 1912 to January 6, 1916, 3 stub-books. (B)

Commissioners of Deeds, Nos. 1 to 226, January 28, 1897 to May 31, 1917, 1 stub-book. (B)

Military appointments, Nos. 1 to 53, January 12, 1901 to March 1, 1907, 1 stub-book. (B)

Notaries Public, 1909 to 1912; Nos. 3251 to 4250, March 18, 1912 to June 6, 1917, 5 v: 1 v. (A); 4 v. (B)

Territorial and State officials, 1833 to 1839. (A)

Correspondence

Bound records

Appointments by the Governor, January 12, 1887 to January, 1893, 1 v. (C)

Letter books

Executive Clerk, E. C. Austin, January 4, 1915 to August 13, 1915, 1 v. (B)

Governor, January to September, 1873, 1877 to 1896, January 4, 1901 to January 2, 1911, 1913 to 1916, 133 v: 1873, 1877 to 1896, 1901 to 1905, 89 v.² (A); 1901 to 1911, 29 v.³ (C); 1913 to 1916, 15 v. (B)

Inspectors, State Board of, 1891 to 1893, 1 v. (C)

Pardons, Board of, 1901 to 1907, 15 v. (A)

Private Secretary to the Governor, August 12, 1885 to August 29, 1887, 1915 to 1916, 6 v: 1885 to 1887, 1

Thirty-three binding cases of letters written to the Governor, 1901 to 1905.

^{3.} Letter copy books.

v. (A); 1915-1916, 5 v. (B)

Resignations, 1905, 1 binding case. (A)

Letters

Affairs outside of the State

Foreign, samples of letters issued to foreign travelers, 1 fb. (B)

National, communications from the Federal Government, 1833 to 1839, 1890-1892, 1 fb. (A)

Other States, communications from, 1833 to 1865, 2 fb. (A)

Appointments

Applications and recommendations, 1824 to 1917:
1824 to 1900, 1910 to 1914 (A); 1901-1905, 1911, 1915 to 1917 (B); 1907 to 1909, 5 bundles. (C)

Applications acted on, 1838-1839, 1850-1851, 1 file case and 3 file boxes. (A)

Protests against appointments, 1830 to 1834. (A)

Resignations and removals, 1828 to 1839, 1857 to 1893, 1901 to 1904, 1907 to 1908, 5 file boxes, parts of others, and 1 bundle: 1828 to 1893, 1907-8 (A); 1901-4 (B)

Boundary, correspondence of Lucius Lyon and others relative to the southern boundary of Michigan, 1834, 1 fb. (A)

Charges and complaints against officials, 1831 to 1904, 1915, approximately 14 file boxes and 1 transfer case: 1831 to 1900 (A); 1901-4 (B); 1915 (C)

Delegates

Celebrations, conferences, etc., 1913-1914, 1 bundle. (C) Conventions, 1905 to 1907, 1 fb. (B)

^{4.} Files for 1906 not found; 1911 in both the upper and lower vaults.

Governors, 1831 to 1852, 1859 to 1877, 1885 to 1896, 1899 to 1900, 1906 to 1915, 105 file boxes, 56 file cases, 78 transfer cases and 27 bundles: 1831 to 1896, 1907-11 (A); 1899-1900, 1911 to 1915 (C)

Immigration, correspondence relative to German immigrants, 1859 to 1861, 1 fb. (A)

Indian affairs, 1823 and 1832, approximately 4 fb. (A) Internal improvements, 1835 to 1864. (A)

Canal around the Falls of the St. Mary's River Improvement of the Muskegon Flats

Opening of the channel of the Black River

Matters under control of the Board of Internal Improvements

State roads

Labor questions, strikes, etc.

Convict labor, 1898. (A)

Eight-hour law, 1898. (A)

Saginaw strike, 1885, 1 fb. (A)

Seeberville tragedy, 1913 to 1916, 1 box. (B)

Strike in Copper country, letters received, 1913-1914, 4 transfer cases. (A)

Lands

Agricultural College lands, 1 fb. (B)

Claims to lands, 1835 to 1839. (A)

Public lands, general correspondence, 1834 to 1864, 1 fb. (A)

Railroad grants, 1852 to 1892, 2 fb. (A)

Swamp lands, 1842 to 1860, 1888. (A)

University lands, 1830. (A)

Military

Military correspondence of Gov. Fred M. Warner, 1907-8, 1 bundle. (A) Offers of service in Spanish-American War by prisoners in Marquette prison, 1898. (A)

State Militia, 1838 to 1841. (A)

Miscellaneous

Anonymous and "crank," 1904 to 1911, 1 fb. (B)

Cholera, quarantine measures, 1832. (A)

Cuba, suffering of people. (A)

Fire Relief Commission, 1882. (A)

Frontier, exposed condition of, 1835 to 1839. (A)

Grange, letters of Gov. Luce from brothers in the Grange, 1881 to 1887. (A)

Keweenaw County, organization, 1861. (A)

Miscellaneous correspondence, 1905 to 1910, 1 fb. (B)

Morris Canal and Banking Company, 1838-39. (A)

Personal, 1831 to 1863, 1881 to 1887. (A)

Postal matters, 1832. (A)

Receptions, 1898. (A)

Requests, mainly for documents and information, 1831 to 1863, 1874 to 1882. (A)

Seeds to farmers from Michigan in Kansas, 1857. (A)

Societies, communications from. (A)

U. S. Ship "Yantic," 1897-98. (A)

Water supply of Newberry, 1893. (A)

Political, 1881 to 1887, 2 fb. (A)

Railroad matters, 1852 to 1892, 1897, 2 fb. (A)

State boards, departments and commissions

Canvassers, State Board of, letters relative to methods of making canvass, 1894, 1 fb. (A)

Pardon Board

Correspondence, 1914-1915, 6 transfer cases.⁵ (C)

^{5.} Includes reports of paroled persons.

Letters to Executive Clerk and Secretary of Pardon Board, 1901 to 1904, 4 file cases. (A)

Letters received, 1913, 2 transfer cases. (A)

Railroad Commission, 1910, 1 fb. (B)

State, Department of, letters rogatory, January 1, 1911, 1 fb. (B)

State institutions

Asylums for insane

Asylum at Kalamazoo, 1895, 1 fb. (A)

Relative to transfer of insane persons, 1 fb. (B)

Industrial Home for Girls, correspondence relative to girls in the Home, 1891-2, 1897 to 1900. (A)

Industrial School for Boys, correspondence relative to boys, 1897-98. (A)

Soldiers' Home at Grand Rapids, 1897-98. (A)

State prisons, 1881 to 1887, 1890 to 1896. (A)

State Public School, letters relative to children, 1897 to 1899. (A)

State officers, letters to the Governor, 1914, 6 transfer cases. (C)

Elections

Ballots, proof sheets, primary election, 1914, 1 letter file.
(B)

Certificates of election

Delegate to Congress, 1827. (A)

U. S. Senator, 1887, 1 fb. (A)

Correspondence

Army post elections, 1883. (A)

Congratulation, letters of, 1881 to 1887. (A)

Election expenses, 1881 to 1887. (A)

Results of elections, 1826-27, 1830-31. (A)

Returns, 1827 to 1833, 1836, 1884, 1897 to 1901, 1904, 1908 to 1917, approximately 18 file boxes, 8 transfer cases and 16 bundles: 1827 to 1884, 1909 to 1915 (A); 1912 to 1914, 1916-17 (B); 1897 to 1901, 1904, 1908. (C)

Voters, typewritten list of first voters of Michigan by districts, no date. (C)

Extradition

244-45

Affidavits, 1832 to 1900. (A)

Applications .

Extradition of fugitives, 1881 to 1890, 1 fb. (A)

Requisition hearings, 1911, 1 fb. (B)

Requisition orders, Nos. 601 to 899, Jan. 20, 1911 to Sept. 13, 1915, 1 stub-book. (B)

Requisitions, 1905 to 1913, 1 stub-book and 1 file box: stub-book (A); file box (B)

Requisitions on other States, January 5, 1869 to August 8, 1876. (C)

Communications

Instructions from the Dept. of State, Washington, relative to extradition, 1876.7 (A)

Letters relative to extradition and requisitions, 1832 to 1900. (A)

Laws of Alabama, Michigan, New Hampshire and Ohio on extradition.⁸ (A)

Official papers filed by Governor Baldwin relative to requisitions, 1869 to 1872, 1 fb. (A)

Returns for 1912 to 1914 are filed in both the upper and lower vaults.

^{7.} In file box marked "Requisitions."

^{8.} Ibid.

Requisitions

Denied and held up, 1893 to 1896, 1901 to 1911, 1913, 4 file boxes and 3 transfer cases: 1893 to 1911 (A); 1913 (B)

From other states

Orders, January 15, 1897 to January 31, 1902, 1 stubbook. (C)

Requisitions, February 2, 1889 to November 2, 1894, 1902 to 1911, 2 stub-books: 1889 to 1894 (C); 1902 to 1911 (A)

On other states

Demand for requisition hearing, 1901 to 1903, 1 fb. (B) Requisitions, September 18, 1876 to December 1, 1883, 1 v. (C)

Under Governor Winans, 1891-92, 1 fb. (A)

Sheriffs' returns in extradition cases, 1911 to 1913, 1 fb. (B)

Warrants

Orders for Governors' warrants, June, 1911 to October, 1915, 1 stub-book. (B)

Requisition warrants, January 19, 1869 to July 22, 1878, 1 stub-book. (C)

Returns on warrants for extradition granted by the Governor, 1911, 1 fb. (B)

Warrants for extradition ordered by the Governor, January 1, 1911 to ——, 1 fb. (B)

Legislative does in Exce by a eveline

Acts, bills and resolutions

Copies of a few bills and resolutions of the Michigan Legislature, 1826 to 1898. (A)

House bills approved, 1901, 1 stub-book. (A)

National, act for the admission of Michigan, June 23, 1836. (A)

Other States, resolutions of, 1835 to 1839. (A)

Communications

Approval, letters of, 1844-45, 1889, 2 fb. (A)

Confirmations, 1835, 1842 to 1845, 1849 to 1851, 1891, 1903, 1905, approximately 4 file boxes and 2 binding cases. (A)

Letters

Governor Barry transmitting resolutions, 1850. (A)

House of Representatives, 1903, 1 binding case. (A)

Senate, 1903, 1 binding case. (A)

To and from members of Legislature relative to special session, 1913, 1 fb. (B)

Nominations, 1834 to 1839, 1842 to 1845, 1851-52, approximately 5 fb. (A)

Vetoes of appropriation bills, 1845, 1 fb. (A)

Messages

Approval of House and Senate bills, 1835 to 1839, 1846, 1849 to 1851, 1905 to 1917, 6 volumes, 8 stub-books and 1 file box: 1835 to 1851, 1911 to 1915 (A); 1917 (B); 1905 to 1909 (C)

Annual, biennial, special and veto, 1827, 1829, 1834 to 1839, 1846, 1849 to 1851, 1861, 4 fb. (A)

Miscellaneous

Letters from Circuit Judges relative to the proposed law requiring a history of criminal cases, 1894, 4 file jackets. (A)

Papers relative to Acts and bills, special session and other matters, 1869 to 1872, 1895, 1901 to 1909, 3 file boxes and 8 transfer cases. (A)

Receipts from the Secretary of State for bills of the Legislature, 1871 to 1875, 1879 to 1895, 1913, 2 file boxes, 1 file case and 2 stub-books. (A)

Record of bills presented for approval, 1901 and 1903, 2 v. (C)

Maps, plats and plans

Agricultural "College farm." (A)

Black River channel. (A)

Hickory Township, Macomb County. (A)

Michigan Building at Panama Exhibition, San Francisco, 1 roll. (B)

Muskegon Flats, improvement of, 1860. (A)

Portage Lake Ship Canal and Grand Marais Harbor, plat of lands of. (A)

Papers

Accounts

Current accounts of the State, 1837 to 1840. (A)

Michigan's indebtedness to the United States, 1911. (B)

Affidavits, 1826 to 1858, 1869. (A)

Appointments

Blank book to be filled when appointments are made.
(B)

Executive appointments, 1901 to 1911, 1 book. (B)

Lists of appointments made, 1826 to 1828, 1834. (A)

Attorney General, opinions, 1850, 1893 to 1897. (A)

Banks, statements of condition. (A)

Beulah Farm, complaints regarding management of, 1900, 1 fb. (B)

Blair Monument Commission, 1898, 1 fb. (A)

Calumet and Hecla Mining Company, answers to 110 questions submitted by Walter B. Palmer, special agent, U. S. Dept. of Labor, 1913, 1 bundle. (B)

Cases of individuals, 1826, 1830, 1880, 1885, 1889, 1893, 1899, 1906 to 1910, 1911, 1916-17, 3 letter files, 1 bundle and 5 file boxes: 1826 to 1899 (A); 1906 to 1917 (B)

Charges against officials, testimonies, removal proceedings, etc., 1834, 1876-77, 1883, 1887 to 1896, 1904 to 1914, 28 file boxes, 1 transfer file and 1 bundle: 1834 to 1896 (A); 1904 to 1914 (B)

Claims, 1834, 1886 to 1891, 2 fb. (A)

Clinical history of insane persons ordered transferred from other Asylums to the Ionia Asylum, 1885 to 1896, 1 fb. (A)

Crary, Isaac E., transfer of portrait, 1907; article on Crary by John C. Paterson, 1907, 1 fb. (B)

Custer Monument Commission, 1908 to 1910, 1 fb. (B)

Dens of infamy in Northern Peninsula, charge investigated, 1888, 1 fb. (A)

Fisher, Hon. S. O., speech at Democratic rally, Saginaw, Sept. 27, 1894, MS., 1 fb. (A)

Fur trade, a few papers, mainly in the twenties. (A)

Geological Survey Papers, 1852 to 1861. (A)

Gettysburg monument, dedication, June 12, 1889, 1 fb. (A) Governors, official papers filed by

Appointments and removals, 1863 to 1872, 6 fb. (A) Ganals, 1859 to 1861, 1865 to 1877, 8 fb. (A)

Capitol, 1869 to 1877, 1 file box and 1 file case. (A)

Claims of Michigan against U. S., 1865 to 1869, 1 fb. (A)

Commissioners of deeds, 1869 to 1877, 2 file boxes and 1 file case. (A)

Deputy State Land Commissioner, charges against, 1865 to 1869, 1 fb. (A)

Dewey and Hazelton Mortgage, 1865 to 1869, 1 fb. (A)

Emigration Agency, 1869 to 1876, 2 fb. (A)

Geological Survey, 1869 to 1877, 3 fb. (A)

Gettysburg Cemetery, 1865 to 1869, 1 fb. (A)

Judiciary matters, 1869 to 1872. (A)

Lands, 1841 to 1845, 1865 to 1877, 5 fb. (A)

Military, 1842 to 1846, 1865 to 1872, 4 fb. (A)

Miscellaneous, 1864 to 1877, 2 fb. (A)

Railroads and railroad companies, 1865 to 1877, 5 fb. (A)

Salt and lumber inspection, 1869 to 1872, 1 fb. (A)

State institutions, 1850, 1869 to 1877, 9 fb. (A)

State roads, 1859-60, 1869 to 1872, 2 fb. (A)

Indian affairs, bonds, licenses, claims, etc., 1814 to 1863.

(A)

Labor troubles, telegrams relating to a strike at Ironwood, 1894, 1 fb. (A)

Lands, 1839, 1844, 1849, 1875 to 1897, 4 fb.: 3 fb. (A); 1 fb. (B)

Military, abstracts of names, lists of soldiers, orders, circulars, etc., 1817 to 1863, 1896 to 1899, 1901 to 1904, 5 file boxes and 2 bound volumes: 1817 to 1904 (A); 1901 to 1904 (B)

Miscellaneous, assessment roll of Shelby Township, contract, delegates appointed, hearing in re Order of Owls and John F. Bible, memorandum pads, miscellaneous papers of governors, etc., 1833, 1836, 1857 to 1860, 1887 to 1896, 1911, 1914, 7 fb.: 1833 to 1896 (A); 1911 and 1914 (B); memorandum pads (C)

Officers, boards and commissions

Board of Agriculture, minutes of meeting, February, 1897. (A)

Judges, designation of judges to hold court, January 29,

1898 to December 8, 1914, 1 stub-book. (B)

Land grants to railroads, Board of Control, 1857 to 1863.

Oath of office

Petitions to the board

Proceedings of meetings

Lists of officers, one in 1834. (A)

Live Stock Sanitary Commission, certificates of appraisement, 1887 to 1900, 3 fb. (A)

Local Fire Relief Committee, 1881. (A)

Medicine, Board of Registration, 1907 to 1910, 1 fb. (B) Military Board meetings, 1905 to 1910, 2 fb. (B)

Public Accountant, orders for certificates for certified Public Accountant, September 5, 1906 to January 18, 1917, 1 stub-book. (B)

State Swamp Lands, Board of Control, resolutions adopted at a meeting in 1882. (A)

Telegrams from State officials, 1898. (A)

Treasury Department, list of State depositories, 1909-10, 1 book. (A)

Railroads, land grants, suits and statistics, 1854 to 1897, 1902 to 1911, 6 file boxes and 1 bound volume: 1854 to 1897 (A); 1902 to 1911 (B)

Salt inspection, final papers, 1 box. (B)

Signatures of governors and seals of States, 1881, 1893 to 1895, 2 fb. (A); 1 undated (B)

State institutions

Investigations of Industrial School management, 1910; Marquette Prison, 1911, 2 fb. (B)

Orders for transfer to State Asylum, August 23, 1897 to January 23, 1917, 1 stub-book. (B) Soldiers' Home, Industrial School for Boys and the University, 1869 to 1872, 1885 to 1894, 3 fb. (A)

Supply requisitions, Governor's office, 1901 to 1911, 1 file case. (B)

Pardons and paroles

Bound records

Applications and reports, January, 1885 to January, 1893, 1 v. (C)

Correspondence, 1889, 1 binding case. (A)

Indeterminate sentences, Nos. 1 to 2000, March 11, 1907 to 1912, 10 books. (C)

Index, Old Board and New Board, 1885, 1 book. (C)

Indexes to names, 1908 to 1910, 3 memorandum books. (C)

Judges' statements, 2 v. (C)

Letter copybooks, Nos. 9 to 16, September 28, 1997 to December 31, 1910, 8 v. (C)

Paroles, 1895 to 1910, 1914 to 1917: Paroles Nos. 1 to 384, August 8, 1895 to December 29, 1900, 1 v.; Nos. 385 to 770, December 29, 1900 to January 27, 1904, 1 book; Book No. 1, Board of Pardons, February 1, 1904 to October 21, 1910, 1 book; February 8, 1910 to August 22, 1910, 2 v; Paroles Nos. 3529 to 6371, February 2, 1914 to June 21, 1917, 19 v. (C)

Recapitulation of parole docket, loose-leaf blank book, December, 1915 to November, 1916, 1 book. (B)

Record Books

Executive pardon record, December 12, 1835 to December, 1882, 1 v. (C)

Flat sentence, record book of W. E. Wilson, M. D., February 20, 1907 to October 18, 1909, 1 v. (C) Indeterminate sentences: record books of W. E. Wilson, M. D., November 4, 1904 to March 27, 1908, 15 v.; record books of Nelson C. Rice, April 23, 1906 to February 26, 1913, 17 v.; record books of Henry F. Thomas, M. D., March 27, 1908 to April 13, 1910, 14 v.; record books of James F. Rumer, M. D., April 13, 1910 to October 14, 1910, 4 v. and index. (C)

Loose-leaf record book, 1910, 2 v.º (C)

People vs. John Higgins, Lenawee County Circuit Court, typewritten transcript record of the case, 1898 to 1900, 1 v. (C)

Record of listed cases, 1912 to 1914, 1 v. (C)

Record books of Will E. Reardon, Secretary, June 6, 1902 to November 17, 1904, 6 v. (C)

Stub-books

Commutation

Orders for commutation, Nos. 1 to 249, July 15, 1897 to December 17, 1908, 1 stub-book. (C)

Orders for warrants of commutations of sentence, December 18, 1908 to August 18, 1917, 1 stub-book.
(B)

Pardons, orders to Secretary of State for issue of pardons, Nos. 1 to 230, January 28, 1897 to November 28, 1916, 1 stub-book. (B)

Paroles

159

Orders for paroles, Nos. 1 to 750, August 8, 1895 to December 11, 1912; Executive orders, Nos. 1 to 401, December 16, 1912 to June 25, 1917, 6 stubbooks: 1895 to 1903 (C); 1903 to 1917 (B)

Paroles, Nos. 2074 to 2251, November 30, 1909 to

^{9.} Duplicate copies.

March 15, 1910; Nos. 2516 to 3526, September 6, 1910 to February 2, 1914, 18 stub-books: 1909-10 (C); 1910 to 1914 (D)

Permits for paroles, Nos. 2 to 192, August 28, 1909 to August 8, 1917, 1 stub-book. (B)

Letters and papers

Applications for parole and commutation, 37 jackets.
(D)

Card index of names, office and occupation, 1 bundle. (C) Correspondence, miscellaneous, 1831 to 1863, 1896, 1910, 1 file box, 1 file case and 1 bundle: 1831 to 1869 (A); 1910 (B)

Miscellaneous

In re Frank G. Glazier, 1911, 3 letter files. (D)
Pardon cases, 1883 to 1892, 1 fb. (A)
Pardon papers, 1835 to 1877, 1883 to 1885, 2 fb. (A)
Old pardons left from former boards, 1887 to 1894, 1 fb.
(A)

Pardon Board

Minutes of Board meetings, 1903, 1904, 1911, 1 bundle.
(C)

Recommendations, 1885 to 1892, 1 fb. (A)

Pardons declined, 1835 to 1891, 39 fb. (A)

Pardons granted, 1835 to 1891, 1893 to 1896, 31 fb. (A)

Petition for pardon for F. L. Hoffman, Port Huron, September 28, 1908, 1 paper. (C)

Prison records, Nos. 700 to 9820, 1898 to 1914, 363 pigeon holes. (D)

Most of records since 1914 are kept in the inner room of the Governor's office. The records mentioned above are in jackets, numbered and named.

Statements, Nos. 1050 to 1079, 1760 to 1782, 2918 to 2972, 3301 to 3398, 1897 to 1902, 4 fb. (C)

Petitions, memorials and remonstrances

To the Governor and State Legislature, cover 1831 to 1898, 1905 to 1914; relate mainly to appointments and removals, changes of boundary lines, city charters, good roads, labor difficulties, suffering in certain sections, and enforcement of liquor laws, 8 full file boxes and parts of several others, 1 file case, 1 roll, 2 bound volumes: 1835 to 1898 (A); 1905 to 1914 (B); 1 roll (C)

Printed matter

Congressional Record, 64th Cong., 1st and 2d sess., bound volumes. (C)

National Board of Health, Bulletins, 2 fb. (B)

Proclamations

Proctor, Colonel Henry, "Civil Regulations of the Government of Michigan Territory," Detroit, August 21, 1812, 1 fb. (A)

Special Day and other proclamations¹¹

Michigan, 1885 to 1917, 11 fb.: 1885 to 1896 (A); 1896 to 1917 (B)

Other States, 1870 to 1872, 1879 to 1882, 1887 to 1895, 1897 to 1915, 13 fb.: 1870 to 1895 (A); 1897 to 1915 (B)

Reports

Agents and delegates

County agents

Kent County agent, June 30, 1912 and June 30, 1914, 2 rolls. (C)

Wayne County agent, June 30, 1912, 1 roll. (C)

^{11.} Part printed copies.

German Emigrant Agent, Rudolph Diepenbeck, 1859 to 1860. (A)

Nicaragua Canal delegates, New Orleans Convention, 1892, 1 fb. (A)

County Treasurers' reports of unpaid liquor taxes, 1877 to 1879, 2 fb. (A)

Detroit Medical College, Dental Department, 1894, 1 fb. 12 (A)

Michigan Fire Relief Association, 1909, 1 fb. (B)

Legislative and investigation committees, 1891-92, 1911, 2 fb.: 1891-2 (A): 1911 (B)

Miscellaneous matters, covering 1859 to 1899. (A)

Reports due the Governor annually, chart and list. (B)

Salt interests in Michigan, 1860. (A)

State boards, 1852 to 1861, 1876 to 1912, 10 file boxes, 9 bound volumes: 1852 to 1905 (A); 1895 to 1912 (B); 1886 to 1889.¹³ (C)

State commissions and commissioners, 1856, 1869-70, 1881, 1886, 1889, 1895, 1898 to 1915, 6 file boxes and parts of others, 1 bound volume and 1 bundle: 1856 to 1900, 1911 (A); 1898 to 1915 (B)

State departments, 1893, 1897 to 1899, 1901-2, 1909, 4 fb.: 1893 to 1899 (A); 1901-2, 1909 (B)

State institutions, 1848, 1855 to 1860, 1876 to 1917, 12 file boxes and parts of others, 3 transfer cases, 2 bundles and 1 roll: 1855 to 1912 (A); 1900 to 1917 (B); 1907 to 1910,

Filed with papers of D. H. Obetz, Detroit, regarding Medical Department, University of Michigan.

^{13.} Annual reports of the Michigan Board of Pharmacy, 1886 to 1889 (1st to 4th), are filed in the fourth floor lockers. Postage reports of the Board of Auditors and the reports of other State boards, 1895 to 1912, are filed in the lower vault.

1 bundle, (C); 1913, 1 bundle. (D)

State officers, 1835 to 1841, 1857, 1873 to 1892, 1895 to 1911, 14 file boxes and parts of others: 1835 to 1900 (A); 1899 to 1911 (B)

State roads, 1845 to 1864, 1 fb. (A)

Vouchers and receipts

Receipts

Geological Survey reports, 1874 to 1889, 4 fb. (A)

"Michigan in the War," 1881-82, 1 fb. (A)

Miscellaneous receipts from the State Treasurer, 1900 to 1910, 1 fb. (B)

Notary fees, 1887 to 1890, 1897 to 1909, 1915-16, 4 fb.: 1887 to 1890 (A); 1897 to 1916 (B)

Postage receipts, 1895 to 1909, 1915-16, 2 fb. (B)

Public money, mainly U. S. payments, 1885 to 1895, 1 fb. (A)

San Francisco Earthquake Relief Fund, 1 v. (C) Soldiers' Home, 1891 to 1910, 2 fb.: 1891-2 (A); 1893 to

State publications, 1881-82, 1 fb. (A)

Vouchers

1910 (B)

Deaf and Dumb School, October, 1873 to December, 1876, 1 fb. (A)

Geological Survey, 1886 to 1896, 5 fb. (A)

Immigration fund, 1881 to 1885, 1 fb. (A)

Pomological exhibition, Grand Rapids, 1885, 1 fb. (A)

Spanish-American War, Nos. 1 to 1760, 1898 to December 4, 1899. (C)

PAPERS

IN FRANCE

By Winfield Lionel Scott (President, Michigan authors' Association)

Yes, he is over there in France somewhere!
Fared forth with heart of steel, my only son;
Nor asked he leave, when duty called him there,
He's gone to serve until the war is done.
And there beneath our starry banner's fold,
He dares his strong right arm to interpose—
He smiles at fear! Our honor to uphold
Firm as a rock he'll stand against her foes.

In khaki clad, it is his country's garb,

More courtly far than proudest sovereign's wear;

Though battle-stained and frayed with many a barb,

What matter? he'll wear it nobly over there.

I'm pleased to know he could so wisely choose

Career that would my pride in him enhance;

And now if leave were asked, could I refuse?

Nay! though his dust must mingle with the soil of France.

Like him, to cause of right I yield my all,
And yet we had our dreams of high success
He might achieve; but now if he should fall,
Think not he valued life and love the less,
But freely laid upon the altar there
His brave, young life, he has no more to give;
In field and trench he serves in France somewhere,
To make this world a better place to live.

MICHIGAN IN THE GREAT WAR

BY MAJOR ROY C. VANDERCOOK (SECRETARY MICHIGAN WAR PREPAREDNESS BOARD)

LANSING

THE History of Michigan in the Great War up to and into 1918 is a record of achievement which places the State well in the forefront of all commonwealths. The Red Cross campaigns and the Liberty Loan quotas have been over-subscribed. Our troops in the field are more numerous, proportionately, than those of a great majority of other commonwealths, since we have more than doubled our quota of regular army enlistments. In short, the pulse of patriotism beats as strongly as in any State, and the tide of war activities rises ever higher.

If Michigan continues as she has started, her war-story will be one of the most glorious chapters in her history. And it is the purpose of the men who are directing her affairs to see that there shall be no slacking. These men are the State officers who constitute the Michigan War Preparedness Board. What Michigan has accomplished to date, has been accomplished, except in a few instances, through the War Board; therefore, an account of the transactions of the Board, coupled with a record of the results which have followed, describes accurately Michigan's part in the first nine months of the struggle.

When it was seen that war was inevitable, early last spring, legislation was framed and introduced which put the business of the war on a sound and well-financed basis. At the adoption by Congress of a war resolution in April and its approval

by the President, thus making war on Germany an actuality, the Michigan Legislature adopted with splendid enthusiasm the State's own war measure.

This was Senate Bill No. 328 (Enrolled Bill No. 57), which became by unanimous vote Act No. 97 of the Public Acts of 1917. Through it the people of the State of Michigan enacted that \$5,000,000 be borrowed at not to exceed four per cent, the sum or any part of it to be used "for the purpose of repelling invasion and defending the State and nation in time of war against all enemies and opposers whatsoever." In brief detail, the law specifies that the money may be used for the following purposes: For the carrying on of recruitment service to obtain the quota of men and organizations required by the Federal Government; to provide a fund for the care of dependents of the enlisted force raised by this State under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed; for the preparation, maintenance and equipment of mobilization camps and stations within this State; to provide suitable equipment for enlisted men and officers; to provide an insurance or beneficiary fund for soldiers or their dependents in case of death or disability growing out of their military service; for an organization of home defense units and the proper equipment of same; for training schools for officers and the maintenance thereof; for the organization of auxiliary relief work within the State; for such other purposes not herein specifically enumerated as may be deemed necessary in the discretion of the Governor for the purpose of State and national defense.

The War Preparedness Board, under this Act, consists of Governor Albert E. Sleeper, chairman; Attorney General Alex. J. Groesbeck; Auditor General Oramel B. Fuller; State Treasurer Samuel Odell; Secretary of State Coleman C. Vaughan;

and Superintendent of Public Instruction Fred L. Keeler. These gentlemen have been faithful in attendance at the sessions of the Board and have frequently given of their time to make personal investigation of questions which have come up for settlement.

Pressing problems were waiting and the Board attacked them with what proved to be characteristic energy. A food preparedness committee consisting of former Governor Fred M. Warner as chairman, William J. Orr of Saginaw, Nathan F. Simpson of Hartford, George W. McCormick of Menominee, Nathan P. Hull of Dimondale, Wm. K. Prudden of Lansing, and John S. Haggerty of Detroit, was appointed to meet the question of increasing the food supply and furnishing farm labor. As a result of the activities of this committee, it is estimated that the acreage under cultivation in the State during the summer of 1917 was increased by nearly one-third. A corps of thirty-six county agricultural agents was hired out of War Board funds, augmenting the Government force, so that every neighborhood and every farmer in the State had an authoritative agency to which to turn in difficulties like getting seed, transporting farm products, and furnishing hired men.

This fall, when the Government had arranged to take over food-directing as a national enterprise, the committee tendered its resignation, and the work was taken up by Food Director George A. Prescott, of Tawas, former Secretary of State. Mr. Prescott has an office in the Capitol and is carrying out successfully the orders of Director Hoover. Michigan, at the end of the campaign to secure signatures of housewives to food pledges, had more than any other State. Close cooperation between Mr. Prescott and Mr. Hoover kept Michigan in an enviable position from the standpoint of food conservation.

When the Government asked that the draft law be put into effect, the salaries for many of the clerical positions on the Boards were entirely inadequate. The Board stepped in with the announcement that competent employees would be paid the difference between the Government's \$2.00 per day and the pay these employees had been receiving. As a result, the draft in Michigan was conducted with little friction or delay.

Allied with the handling of food conservation is that of making the fuel supply last, despite the shortage of mine labor and of railroad transportation. Willian K. Prudden, a Lansing manufacturer, accepted the position of fuel director when affairs were in a chaotic condition, and with his staff has prevented the actual closing of many manufacturing plants for lack of coal by a fair division of the small supply available. Private consumers were also helped by the director's office, which is continuing its work. An appropriation of \$1,200 per month supports the fuel administrator's office, and a similar sum has been allotted to the food director. Mr. Prudden has his task well in hand and is now laboring to increase the amount of fuel allotted the State by the mines.

The people of Michigan have indicated, now that so many of their young men have been called by the draft, that they desire every available bit of labor used. Accordingly, boys will be put to work on the farm this spring to assist in the planting. Boy-labor was not used as freely as it might have been last spring, but a national director of juvenile farm labor has been appointed in the person of Charles A. Parcells, of Detroit, and he is laying his plans to get thousands of schoolboys into the open as assistants to the farmer. The people of the State, through the War Board, are supporting this movement by furnishing necessary funds for office and organization expenses from the loan.

In every national movement the Michigan War Board has been quick to respond to appeals for assistance and has financed the Red Cross and the Liberty Loan campaigns to the extent of several thousand dollars. This aid was appreciated and proved effective, as Michigan's record in these great undertakings proves. In the first Liberty Loan, the State's allotment was \$68,119,000, and the amount actually subscribed was \$70,826,000, an over-subscription of \$2,707,000. In the second Loan, the minimum allotment was \$79,500,000, and the maximum \$132,500,000. The State's total subscription was \$117,296,000, which is far over the minimum and proportionately farther toward the maximum than most other States of the Union.

The Red Cross called on Michigan for \$3,000,000 in its big drive, and the State responded for \$4,075,643. Figures are not available for other Red Cross activities since, but it is known that the response has been equally generous.

State transportation problems have been met and solved as they have arisen, through the assistance of Charles E. Webb, Secretary of the Michigan Railroads Association of Detroit. Mr. Webb has been loaned to the State by his employer, and is secretary of the transportation committee. In several instances, through his technical knowledge, he has been enabled to move many cars of supplies urgently needed for Government purposes when apparently they were either tied up or lost.

An explosives committee, of which Mr. A. E. Stevenson of Port Huron is Michigan executive, was formed at the request of the Federal Government. State Treasurer Odell is a member of the national explosives committee. The organization of the Michigan branch of the National Council of Defense, Woman's Section, was encouraged. Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane of Kalamazoo is head of that committee, which is doing an important work in listing women for positions which they must fill as the drain on man-power becomes more pronounced.

There was considerable delay in the adoption by Congress of a law providing for dependents' relief, and the administration of this law to bring relief to dependents has not yet begun, so far as this State is concerned. To meet this condition, within a few days after war was declared the State began issuing aid to soldiers' and sailors' dependents, on the basis of \$20 per month to wife or mother, with \$7.50 for each minor child. At the present time, 800 Michigan families are receiving from \$10 to \$40 per month, totaling \$15,000 monthly. This relief will not cease until the Government system is in full operation.

One of the smallest investments which the Board has made is paying out in a manner so important as to be startling. Dr. R. M. Olin, of the State Board of Health, was allowed \$500 to put into effect a plan to control sexual disease in the vicinity of Camp Custer, where Michigan's quota of the national army was sent. His plan was simple. He traced cases of venereal trouble to the author and segregated such a man or woman. Soon the system extended all over the State, and Dr. Olin predicts that venereal disease, which has been causing the medical profession grave concern because of its terrible effects and wide distribution, will hereafter be as rare, and as controlled, as smallpox.

Dr. Olin's work attracted national attention, and he was summoned to Washington by Dr. Gorgas, Surgeon-General of the United States, and there offered the position of national supervisor so that the plan could be applied everywhere. He refused in order to continue the work in Michigan, but agreed to take charge of five other States for General Gorgas. Dr. Olin asked for but \$500. Governor Sleeper has assured him that his fund will never have less than that sum in the future. Dr. Olin was assisted and backed up by a committee of prominent physicians of the State.

Most of the activities outlined above and made possible by the war fund are civil in their character. There is an equally long list of military achievements by loyal Michigan citizens through their War Board. For the defense and protection of the State there has been organized and equipped a force of 200 men in a State constabulary known as the Permanent Force, Michigan State Troops. These troops which are under control of the Governor, were organized and developed by Col. Roy C. Yandercook and have done most excellent service.

The Permanent Force broke an I. W. W. strike which threatened to close the iron mines of the Upper Peninsula early last summer. Paid organizers, desperate men with a lavish supply of German money, had gathered a mob of 300 malcontents, mostly unmarried foreigners, and were actually marching on the mines to intimidate patriotic men who desired to work, when the First Troop, hurried to the spot by special train, filed out of the cars at Bessemer, mounted and charged them. The parade scattered through the fields. A second attempt to organize was smashed with equal dispatch. The next day the organizers left town. The importance of this action of the constabulary may be gathered from the fact that the I. W. W. have terrorized several Pacific Coast States for months and have caused serious disorders, fires, dynamiting and even murders throughout the country. This Troop has remained in the Upper Peninsula and has maintained absolute industrial peace.

The Constabulary has gone on with its good work and there are a dozen detachments at the present time scattered throughout the State, guarding munitions plants, food storehouses, tunnels, stockyards, and shipbuilding plants. The Governor is in receipt of scores of letters from citizens everywhere praising the Constabulary and the work they are doing. The Force is carefully picked and consists of men of courage, judgment and training. They compare favorably with the famous Royal Canadian Northwest Mounted Police.

The Home Guard division of the Michigan State Troops, now consisting of about 105 companies partially organized into regiments and battalions and containing about 6,000 men, were brought into the State service by the Board's order under supervision of Major M. J. Phillips. These companies are partially equipped with rifles and uniforms and have served a worthy purpose, assisting in patriotic meetings and other demonstrations, and they have quickened recruiting in their respective neighborhoods. They are ready to combat any widespread disorder, but their work is soon to be taken over by the Federal Guard organized by the War Department for internal defense purposes.

Equipment valued at about \$150,000 was purchased under the Board's direction for the Permanent Force, the Home Guard and the National Guard in Federal Service. When the National Guard was called last summer, a number of the companies needed shoes, blankets, cots and other articles, and relief could not be obtained from the Government. The supplies purchased by the forethought of the War Preparedness Board were immediately made available. When the companies who were helped received their supplies from the Government weeks later, they returned equipment in kind, with the

result that the State has an emergency supply of 2,500 pairs of shoes, 3,000 blankets, 3,000 leggings, and 2,500 hats, as well as about 2,500 cotton uniforms in its warehouses.

There were no funds available when the call for active service came to recruit National Guard companies to war strength, and the War Board, believing that the people of the State wanted their young men to go forth with overflowing ranks and as distinctively Michigan organizations, put on a recruiting campaign. Newspaper articles and display advertising were used liberally to stimulate recruiting; the wages of the captain, first sergeant and company clerk of each company were paid by the Board, that these men might go on duty as recruiting parties before the Government called them; and their expenses and the expenses of recruits were paid when trips were made to adjoining towns. As a result, the Michigan brigade mobilized at Grayling with every unit up to war strength.

The three regiments of Michigan Infantry have been consolidated into two regiments, the 125th and 126th, of the National Army. Their surgeons reported that a considerable amount of medicine and supplies is needed outside of the Government lists, and in order to supplement these supplies an allowance of \$15.00 per month was made to each regiment. This sum operates as a credit with Parke, Davis & Company of Detroit, who have agencies in all important cities of the world.

Another military activity was the building of good roads to the Battle Creek cantonment; to Selfridge Field, Mt. Clemens, where hundreds of aviators are training; and between Detroit and Toledo, so that Government supplies might be shipped overland to the Atlantic coast by trucks. The

counties could not afford to bear the entire expense of such roads; but the roads will help to win the war, and War Board funds were put into them.

Proposed civil activities of the Board in the near future are the organization of county preparedness boards to make even more efficient Michigan's War aid, and the financing of the "Four-Minute Men," a great force of volunteer speakers who address theater audiences weekly on patriotic subjects. Heretofore this latter work has been privately financed and handled.

Of the \$5,000,000 fund about \$840,000 has been expended, an average of slightly under \$100,000 monthly. The more important items are as follows: War Board office expenses, publications, etc., \$17,771.04; food preparedness committee, \$50,258.63; State Troops, Permanent Force, \$286,148.14; Michigan Naval Brigade, recruiting, etc., \$4,869.05; Michigan National Guard, \$76,334.45; military reservation at Grayling, building hospital, kitchens, roads, etc., \$67,348.05; Michigan State Troops, Home Guard, \$47,919.18; dependents' relief, \$62,739.75; registration and draft boards, \$5,008.86; Selfridge Camp Road, \$84,021.03; Woman's Committee, \$4,212.86; Harmonia Road (Camp Custer), \$71,612.01; Augusta Harmonia Road, \$6,967.32; Camp Custer health activities, \$500; fuel administration, \$1,408.66; Federal food administration, \$3,-531.85; Liberty Loan advertising campaign, \$3,815.45; Dixie Detour Road (Monroe-Toledo), \$20,438.38.

A number of citizens came to the Governor and members of the Board with the statement that junior officers of the army are finding it exceedingly difficult to meet the requirements of the Government in providing themselves with uniforms and equipment for active service. The Board was informed that this equipment cost from \$400 to \$800 for an officer and that unless some means could be found to loan these officers the necessary funds it would be difficult for them to remain in the service, and this information was confirmed by older officers in the Army. In view of the need of trained men to lead the troops the Board decided that some assistance should be granted in these cases. A resolution was adopted under which junior officers in the Federal service can borrow from the Board not to exceed \$400 each without interest, on a note running for one year; the money to be used only for the purchase of necessary uniforms and equipment. Approximately \$35,000 has been loaned under this plan.

Not every appeal for funds has been approved by the Board, because it is felt that even greater calls may be made on the State in view of the fact that no man can tell what sacrifice is going to be necessary to bring success to our arms across the sea. As in all of the other great work of the war, the Board has had to depend upon past experiences so far as the members could benefit from them and work with as broad a vision as possible, realizing as in other activities that there can be no definite plan prepared nor any program adopted which will meet the emergencies that are constantly arising, but endeavoring in all of its work to uphold the honor of the State and to do efficiently the things which the State should do.

THE CREATION OF THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN

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THE Ordinance of 1787 provided for the ultimate division of the Territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio into not less than three nor more than five States. If into three, the north and south dividing lines were to extend from the Ohio River to the International Boundary, the eastern dividing line to start at the mouth of the Great Miami River. If more than three States were created, an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan would form the northern boundary of three States, and the territory north of that line might at the option of Congress be put into either one or two States. If the "three States" plan had been adopted the Lower Peninsula of Michigan would have been about equally divided between the eastern and central States, while the Upper Peninsula would have formed part of all three States.

Eleven years after the adoption of the Ordinance, the population of the Northwest Territory was found to be upwards of five thousand, and, following the provisions of the Ordinance, a legislature was instituted, containing elected members, thus bringing all parts of the Territory into intimate connection with the governing powers.

In May, 1800, Congress passed an Act dividing the Territory into two parts, the dividing line starting at the Ohio River, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River, thence passing northward to Fort Recovery, and from there north to

the International Boundary. The western part, which covered much the larger area, was named the Indiana Territory, the eastern part retaining the original name. This dividing line did not quite agree with the line fixed by the Ordinance, being a little to the westward, but when the State of Ohio came to be created two years later, the Ordinance line was adopted as the division line between Ohio and Indiana Territory.

In 1800, and for some years afterward, there were no accurate maps of the Great Lakes and the surrounding region, and it was uncertain where the dividing line between the Northwest and Indiana Territories struck the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, and whether the settlement at Mackinaw was on the east or the west of the line. In Jan., 1802, the legislature of the Northwest Territory adopted a resolution instructing their delegate in Congress, Paul Fearing, to use his endeavors to have Congress pass a law declaring the Island of Michillimackinac and its adjacent settlements to be in and under the jurisdiction of the Northwest Territory.1 Perhaps aroused by this action, in February, 1802, a Grand Jury of Knox County, Indiana Territory, passed resolutions claiming the Island of Michillimackinac and its dependencies as an integral part of their territory, and these resolutions were presented to the House of Representatives by Gov. Harrison.2

The matter was promptly referred to a special committee of the House, but the question soon became obsolete through the creation of the State of Ohio out of the southern part of the Northwest Territory, and the attaching of both peninsulas to Indiana Territory, and therefore no report was made by the committee, or further action taken.

^{1.} St. Clair Papers, II, 546.

^{2.} Annals of Congress, 7th Cong., 1st Sess.

Governor St. Clair had not looked with favor upon the reduction of his territorial jurisdiction by the creating of Iudiana Territory, and sometime before that event, had worked out a plan of division which he hoped would prevent any action being taken in the creation of States.³ It seems most probable that in this he was largely actuated by apprehension lest if States were created his position and authority would be gone. Opposition to him and his political ideals had been increasing, but he was still in control, and influential. He was a strong Federalist, while many of the later comers into the Territory were Democrats, to whom the Governor seemed an autocratic tyrant, and who not only wished to rid themselves of his offensive authority, but also wanted a State government which would be governed by officers elected by the people.

In order to carry out St. Clair's idea, his friends in the Territorial Assembly passed an Act, approved by him, December 21, 1801, giving the assent of the Territory to an alteration of the Ordinance. It recited that it would be inconvenient and injurious to the interests of the citizens of the Northwest Territory if it should be divided into States according to the Ordinance, as these States would be extremely unequal in territory and population, and the eastern State particularly would be too extensive for good government; and it enacted. that whenever Congress should assent, the Ordinance should be so altered that the western of the three States provided for should be bounded on the east by the western boundary of lands granted to General George Rogers Clark, his officers and soldiers, and a line from there to the head of Chicago River, up that stream to Lake Michigan, and thence due north to the International Boundary. The middle State

^{3.} St. Clair Papers, I, 215.

would have as its eastern boundary the Scioto River, from its mouth to the Indian boundary line fixed by the Treaty of Greenville, thence to the southwest corner of the Connecticut Reserve, and from there due north to the International Boundary.⁴

The eastern State would comprise the area between that line and Pennsylvania. It was expressly provided that it was not intended to affect the authority of Congress to form one or two States north of the east and west line drawn through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan.

This action, whatever the motive, was an ill-considered one. It aroused and accentuated the opposition to Gov. St. Clair, and was the immediate cause of bringing about the very result which he so much deprecated. His enemies charged that the Act was induced by him, and had as its sole purpose the indefinite retention of the Territorial system, which meant government by an appointed governor with autocratic powers.

The adoption of the Act was carried in the Legislative House by a vote of 12 affirmative to 8 negative votes. Included in the affirmative were three votes from Detroit,—Joncaire, McDougall and Schieffelin.⁵ The fact that these Detroit votes were all in favor of St. Clair's scheme undoubtedly had considerable bearing upon the subsequent action of Congress. They indicated that the sentiment of Wayne County was predominatingly Federalist, and in political sympathy with the Governor. The eight negative votes included Massie, Morrow and Worthington, three very prominent, active and influential men in the opposition to St. Clair. A speedy and very un-

Tederality 17

Laws of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, Vol. III (Ed. Chillicothe, 1802), Chapter XVIII, pp. 130-132.

^{5.} St. Clair Papers, I, 224.

expected result followed this legislative Act. The legislative opponents entered a formal protest on the record, and began to stir up political sentiment against it. A committee was organized, petitions were actively circulated, and Thomas Worthington, later United States Senator and Governor of Ohio, was sent to Philadelphia where Congress was in session, to obtain if possible the authority of Congress to establish a State within the eastern boundary fixed by the Ordinance.

In the meantime, Governor St. Clair had sent the Act to Paul Fearing, delegate of the Northwest Territory, who presented it to the House of Representatives January 20, 1802. On the same day Mr. W. B. Giles, a member from Virginia, an extreme anti-Federalist, stated to the House that he had petitions signed by more than 1,000 inhabitants of the Territory against the law, whose only purpose was to perpetuate the office of Governor and the Territorial Legislature. Worthington had naturally gone for assistance to Giles, as both Worthington and Massie were from Virginia, as were many others of the early settlers of Ohio; and Giles, a thoroughgoing Democrat, was strongly opposed to the Federalist St. Clair, and was the leader of the House of Representatives, in which his party had a large majority.

Seven days later, the House considered the matter, and by a nearly unanimous vote—81 to 5—refused the assent of Congress to the Act, even the Federalists feeling that it could not be defended.

Not satisfied with this negative result, and stimulated by the protests and petitions pouring in, the opponents of Governor St. Clair and his friends determined to go further, take

^{6.} Ibid. I, 238.

^{7.} Annals of Congress, 7th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 427.

advantage of the evident friendly feeling in Congress, and have a new State created. March 30, a report by Mr. Giles recommending the establishment of a new State was considered. The framer of this report evidently had in mind the political complexion of the people of Detroit and vicinity, and feared that they, together with the Federalists in Cincinnati and some other sections of the Territory, might be sufficient in number to seriously embarrass the Democratic plans. The simple and effective way, therefore, was to leave them out of the new State. The report, accordingly, provided that the north line of the new State should be an east and west line drawn through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan, until it intersected Lake Erie or the Territorial line, and made no arrangement whatever for the people north of this proposed line.8 The following day, the question of the northern boundary came before the House, and Mr. Fearing insisted that if the proposed north line were adopted, the resulting inconvenience to the section not incorporated in the new State would be very great, especially if this were attached to Indiana Territory, as he understod was contemplated. Mr. Bayard of Delaware, a Federalist, and an able orator and statesman followed, by saying that the proposed division was manifestly unjust to the people north of the line. If attached to Indiana Territory, they would be obliged to cross the new State and go a considerable distance further to reach their own seat of government. In addition, having reached, as part of the Northwest Territory, the second grade of Territorial government (with an elective assembly), this Act would reduce them to the first grade, in which Indiana stood,-gov-

^{8.} Annals of Congress, 7th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 1097 ff.

ernment by Governor and Judges,—a form extremely odious. He urged that it would be just and politic to include them in the new State, reserving the right to change the boundary later.

Mr. Giles supported his report by saying that probably the section north of the line would be attached to Indiana,—no great hardship; and that in any event it was not the fault of Congress, but of the local situation.

Mr. Bayard moved that the boundaries of the new State be made coterminous with those of the Northwest Territory; but this was lost by a vote of 38 to 18.

April 7, a Bill based upon the foregoing report was considered by the House, and Mr. Fearing moved that the Bill be so amended that all of the area east of the Indiana line should be included within the new State. This amendment was vigorously debated, it being contended, on one side, that the exclusion of the inhabitants north of the proposed line—about 3,000 in number—from the privileges of statehood, was both unconstitutional and inexpedient; and, on the other, that neither of these objections was well founded.¹⁰

The constitutional objection was based upon the provision of the Ordinance which authorized the division of the Northwest Territory into three, four or five States, and it was contended this did not permit the eastern division to be put part into a State and part into a Territory.

The eccentric John Randolph favored the amendment, chiefly because he wished to avoid the introduction of too many small States into the Union. The amendment was lost, by the small majority of four.

^{9.} Ibid, pp. 1120-1121.

^{10.} Annals of Congress, 7th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 1155-1156.

The following day the Bill was under discussion, and the attempt was again made to have the entire Territory included in the new State; but this time the adverse majority increased to seventeen; the next day the Bill, passed by a vote of 47 to 29, went to the Senate, where after discussion and amendments it passed on April 28 by a majority of 10; the amendments being accepted by the House, the Bill was signed by the President, and became a law on April 30.11

The Act, in its final form, provided that the part of the Territory north of the State line should be attached to Indiana Territory, subject, however, to the right of Congress to make it subsequently a part of the new State by the Act created.

By this Act all of what is now Michigan became a part of Indiana Territory, whose seat of government was at St. Vincennes, on the Wabash,—400 miles from Detroit by direct line, and many more by the ordinary route of travel. By the census of 1800 there were 3,206 persons in Wayne County and 551 at Mackinac, and all of these, with scarcely an exception, were decidedly opposed in politics to the party which had just carried through this legislation. This, no doubt, explains to a considerable degree, both why they were excluded from the new State, which was expected to strengthen the administration by sending to Congress two senators and a representative, and why the matter was not submitted to the popular vote of the whole Territory. The law went into effect, the

^{11.} In a pamphlet written by Worthington in 1802, addressed to the citizens of the Northwest Territory opposed to the alteration of the boundaries of the State as established by Congress, he charges that every gentleman of the Federalist party present voted against the Bill.

State of Ohio was organized; and it sent to Washington, as one of its Senators, Thomas Worthington. 12

As soon as the law became known, the people of Detroit and vicinity remonstrated against it with much warmth, and claimed the right of becoming a part of the new State and remaining so until their numbers should entitle them to a State government of their own. They claimed the exclusion was unconstitutional and oppressive, and declared they would not submit to it. The argument, however, soon began to be made that the law might, on the whole, result favorably for Detroit, because Congress would soon see that it was necessary to establish a Territorial government at Detroit; if that were done, there would be numerous offices to be filled, and naturally they would not be filled by critics and opponents of the administration. The energies of the protestants began to be turned toward the creation of an independent government for the people of Detroit and territory adjacent to them.

Senator Worthington had suggested a petition to Congress, but before receipt of his suggestion a memorial was drawn up at Detroit, dated March 20, 1803, and addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives.¹³ It urged that the citizens of the United States north of the east and west line

^{12.} Gov. St. Clair, who was summarily removed from his office by the President in Nov., 1802, for alleged "intemperance and indecorum of language," in a spirited reply to Secretary Madison said "the transferring of above five thousand people, without their knowledge or consent, from a country where they were in possession of self-government, to another where they will be, at least for some time, deprived of that privilege and subjected to many other inconveniences, was something worse than 'intemperate and indecorous,'" and that, had it happened in Germany, where such things have happened, no man in America would have hesitated to have used a harsher term.

^{13.} Senate Files, 8th Cong., 1st Sess.

extending through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan had, since the cession by the British of the western posts, experienced many inconveniences which had been patiently submitted to in the hope of improvement, but the Act attaching them to Indiana Territory was so hostile to their growth and prosperity that they could not remain silent. The memorialists were confident that Congress would not have taken that step if it had been possessed of accurate and full information. The immense distance of Vincennes from the settlements of the Lakes—700 miles from Detroit and 1,100 miles from Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie—united with the extreme difficulty of carrying on intercourse through a country filled with Indians often at war among themselves as well as hostile to travelers, made their situation critical and alarming.

From a commercial point of view, there was necessity as well as policy in being part of an independent Territory. Important questions had already arisen in which the United States as well as individuals were interested, but owing to their isolated situation courts were seldom held, and ruinous delay in judicial proceedings resulted. During more than six years, while connected with the Northwest Territory, only two Superior Courts were held in Yayne County, and many cases were still undecided, although pending three or four years. This trouble, under the present circumstances, must increase.

From another standpoint, a liberal treatment by Congress, and an independent government, would bring immigration, relieve the Federal Government from a considerable expense, and increase its revenue.

An intimation followed, calculated to hasten action, that citizens would not be expected to feel interested in a government which was of no benefit to them, but would rather be likely to quit a country which was not able or willing to protect their persons or property.

For all these reasons, they asked that a Territory be established north of the east and west line mentioned, with a government similar to the one provided for the Northwest Territory.

The memorial was written in both English and French, and numerously signed, 308 persons in all signing; and it was transmitted to Thomas Worthington, Senator from Ohio.¹⁴

Without knowledge of the preparation of this memorial, Senator Worthington on April 20, 1803, wrote to Solomon Sibley of Detroit, an old friend, although of different political faith, suggesting a petition to Congress, and adding, "A new Territory will be formed at the next session of Congress (to a certainty, if the people wish it, and of this, I presume there can be little doubt) including Detroit and the adjacent settlements. I speak positively on this subject from a knowledge of the sentiments of the President, some of the heads of the departments, and many of the members of the Senate and House

^{14.} In the letter accompanying the petition, Mr. Sibley said there was not a man of sense in the country who did not fervently pray for the success of the measure. In a letter written in October, 1803, to Seth Hastings, a Federalist member of Congress from Mass., Mr. Sibley says that not a single citizen to whom it was presented declined to sign the petition, and although it was not sent to Mackinaw, he was assured the citizens there were unanimously in favor of it. In this letter an interesting side light is thrown on the situation by the statement that the petition was sent to Senator Worthington because "We considered it policy to entrust the business with him, in hopes thereby to secure support from his side of the House, not doubting but what our Federal friends would still feel disposed to favor us. This, however, I state in confidence and that you may not suppose we are all turned Democrats."

of Representatives. The measure might have been effected at the last session of Congress if it had been taken up.15 On October 12, 1803, Senator Worthington presented the Memorial to the Senate, which at once ordered it referred to a committee consisting of Worthington, Breckenridge from Kentucky, and Franklin from North Carolina. Oct. 27, Mr. Worthington, for the committee, made a report that the local situation of the inhabitants at Detroit and the adjacent settlements required the special attention of the General Government. On the one side, they joined the British Province of Canada, on the other they were surrounded by Indian tribes; they were also subject to unreasonable delays and difficulties in the administration of justice owing to the distance from Vincennes, the residence of the Governor and other principal officers of the Territory, and as, according to the last census, there were 3,792 free white inhabitants in the district proposed to be set off, they recommended that all of Indiana Territory lying north of a line drawn east from the southernmost extreme of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie and west to the Mississippi be made a separate Territory.16

The report was received and laid on the table for consideraion. On November 1, it was taken from the table, considered
and adopted, and the same committee instructed to bring in
a Bill for the purpose. On November 4, the Committee
brought in "A Bill to divide the Indiana Territory into two
separate governments, and giving the assent of Congress to
the proposition of the Convention of the State of Ohio, contained in the 6th section of the 7th Article of the Constitution
of that State," which was read and ordered to the second reading.

^{15.} Burton Mss.

^{16.} Annals of Congress, 8th Cong., 1st Sess.

The Bill contained, as its seventh section, the same provision regarding the boundary line between Ohio and the new Territory as the people of Ohio had inserted in their Constitution. This was, that if the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan should extend so far south that a line drawn due east from it should not intersect Lake Erie, or if it should intersect the said Lake Erie east of the mouth of the Miami River of the Lake, then with the assent of Congress the north boundary of the State should be a direct line from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northerly cape of the Miami Bay.¹⁷ November 7 the bill was read a second time, and referred to a new committee of five, of which Mr. Bradley of Vermont was chairman and Worthington and Franklin were members.

While the committee had the Bill under consideration, Mr. Worthington received another petition upon the same subject, dated September 1, 1803, signed by Louis Beaufait and 136 others, which he presented to the Senate November 15, and it was at once referred to the same committee of five. This petition was also in both English and French, but was signed almost exclusively by French. It was short, and based the need of a government separate from the Indiana Territory chiefly upon the geographical situation, and left the matter to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress. 15

November 16 Mr. Bradley reported back the Bill with some amendments, the most important of which were the striking out of the entire seventh section which conceded to Ohio all its claims of right to change the boundary line fixed in the Ordinance of 1787, and the amendment of the title of the

^{17.} Senate Files, 8th Cong., 1st Sess.

^{18.} Ibid.

Bill to correspond. The report was laid on the table and on December 5 taken up, considered, amended and the Bill passed to the third reading. The following day it was read a third time, further amended, and passed. In its final form, this Bill gave to the proposed Territory the name "Northwest Territory." 19

December 8, the House received the Bill, read it twice, and sent it to a committee of five, of which Mr. Lucas of Pennsylvania was chairman and Mr. Morrow a member. December 30 they made a report, which was read and referred to the Committee of the Whole for January 3d. It was not reached, however, until February 20, when it was taken up and considered. The committee was of the opinion that nearly all the people in the proposed Territory were convenient to the State of Ohio, and being within the boundaries of that State as fixed by the Ordinance of 1787, might properly be attached to that State for the present, especially as the expense of a separate Territorial government was considerable. For these reasons the committee regretfully concluded that the Bill ought not to pass.20 In the debate upon the report, Gregg of Pennsylvania and Lyon of Kentucky supported it, on the ground that the population around Detroit was too small to justify a separate Territorial government, and that several detached settlements in Mississippi and Louisiana Territories might, with equal justice, demand separate governments. Lucas of Pennsylvania, Jackson of Virginia, Sloan of New Jersey, and Morrow of Ohio, argued strongly that a small population was entitled to justice and protection just as much as a large one; that this community

^{19.} Ibid.

^{20.} House Files, 8th Cong., 1st Sess.

was so far from Yincennes as to deprive the people of the benefits of a government, and that Mackinac, which was an important business point bringing a revenue to the United States of \$17,000, was 800 miles from Vincennes.²¹ Their arguments carried the day, and the report was rejected, with only 34 votes in its favor. The Bill, which provided that the same old name, Northwest Territory, should be attached to the new Territory, was then amended by substituting the name "Michigan"²²—which was the first time that name had ever been applied to a land area—and the third reading was postponed to the following day.

During the night adverse influences from some source were at work. When the Bill came up for third reading, Mr. Holland of North Carolina moved to postpone further consideration until the following November—a method of easy death,—but, after argument, this was defeated by 62 nays to 56 yeas. The opposition, however, was strengthening, and when the question was put on the passage of the Bill, it was lost by one vote, 58 yeas to 59 nays.²³ If one member had changed his vote, the Territory of Michigan would have come into existence one year earlier than it did.

The next session of Congress opened November 5, 1804, and the citizens of Detroit, who had endured another year of deprivation of the benefits of citizens of the United States, and had been greatly disappointed at the failure of their previous petitions, again besought Congress for relief. December 5 Mr. Worthington presented the memorial of James May and 74 others, citizens and inhabitants of the Indiana Territory

^{21.} Annals of Congress, 8th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 1040-1041.

^{22.} Ibid., p. 1041.

^{23.} Ibid., p. 1042.

north of an east and west line extending through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan, praying that a separate Territory be erected north of that line. The petition, dated October 24, 1804, is in both English and French, and is in the handwriting of Peter Audrain who accompanied the army of General Wayne when it took possession of Detroit in 1796, and who had remained as its first and only prothonotary, and clerk of every society, committee or association.24 The petition referred to the unhappy fate of former petitions and the present distressing situation of the petitioners. There was but one sentiment in the community upon both the expediency and necessity of a separate Territorial government. As one illustration of conditions, in September, 1803, the petitioners understood that several laws were passed by the Legislature of Indiana Territory affecting their rights, but no one in Detroit had ever seen one of them, although they had been passed upwards of a year. They therefore renewed their prayer to be erected into a separate Territory.

The next day Mr. Worthington presented another petition for the same purpose, and both the petitions were referred to a committee of which he was chairman.

The first petition was signed by many of the "Memorial of 1803" signers, but some new names appeared. W. McCoskry, Christian Clemens, Daniel McNeal, Archibald Horner, James Harsen, Jno. Goff, James Fraser, Adam Gentle, Robert H. McNiff, Henry J. Hunt, Benjamin Chittenden, J. McDonnell, and Abraham Cook, were some of the new signers.

^{24.} This petition was the immediate outcome of a public meeting held in Detroit, Oct. 13, 1804, called by the Trustees of the Town, who adopted a resolution at their session, Oct. 1, reciting that it was very necessary that a new memorial be framed and prepared and forwarded to Congress for the purpose of obtaining a division of the Indiana Territory.

The second petition was from the "Democratic Republicans of the County of Wayne," by Robert Abbott their Chairman, and George Hoffman, Secretary. As Congress and the administration were overwhelmingly of this political faith, it was a shrewd move to obtain by partisan appeal a more favorable hearing than they might otherwise have obtained. They asked a division of Indiana Territory and a separate government for the settlement composing Wayne County, with the southern boundary of the New Territory a line drawn from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie in such a manner as to include the small settlements at old Fort Defiance and Fort Miami. They referred to the many embarrassments from which they suffered, the necessity of travelling 700 miles through inhospitable forests to obtain justice and redress of wrongs, the consequent immunity from punishment of wrong-doers, and the delay and expense in civil matters. They had had but two civil courts in the last eight years, and one result was that although justice was not sold, it cost more than many of them were able to pay. Through a change in the post route, intercourse with Vincennes, circuitous and difficult, was practically at an end, except by express or by casual opportunity. An argument of expediency and policy for granting this petition was the nearness of Upper Canada, a British Province, which might tend to strengthen anti-Republican notions; and as many, through frequent changes of allegiance, were destitute of patriotic feeling, it would be highly desirable to tie them closely to the General Government, and render them in the future faithful protectors of the frontier.

The Sheriff of Wayne County had lately received from Governor Harrison a proclamation requiring him to take a vote

of the people upon the question of proceeding to the second or Representative form of government, but although in the minority they were positively opposed to the measure; filled with confidence in Congress they submitted themselves to its decision.²⁵

December 14 Mr. Worthington, having previously secured leave to do so, brought in a Bill to divide the Territory of Indiana and set off a new Territory north of a line drawn east from the southernmost extreme of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie and west to the Mississippi River. It was passed rapidly through the states of first and second reading, and on December 24 was amended so that the new Territory was bounded on the west by a line drawn from said southerly extreme of Lake Michigan through the middle of the Lake to its northern extremity, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States, and the name "Michigan" was given to it, and it then passed without division.²⁶

December 26 the Bill was read twice in the House, and referred to a select committee of five, of which Gregg of Pennsylvania who had opposed the creation of the new Territory the year before, was chairman. January 2, 1805, the Bill was reported without amendment; January 4 it was considered in Committee of the Whole, and the first section amended. January 7 it was read the third time, and passed without division, showing that during the year a considerable change had taken place in the sentiment of members. The same day the Bill went to the Senate, which considered it, and the following day concurred in the amendment; on Friday, January 11,

^{25.} Senate Files, 8th Cong., 2d Sess.

^{26.} Annals of Cong., 8th Cong., 2d Sess.

1805, President Jefferson approved it, and Michigan Territory was created to come into being June 30 following.²⁷

^{27.} In preparing this Bill Mr. Worthington overlooked some points of importance to which Mr. Sibley had called his attention the year before and which, if they had been acted upon, would have saved much trouble and discussion. These were: (1) The Governor and Judges should be permitted to enact laws and not be confined to adopting laws from other States. (2) Congress should declare to be in force in the new Territory until changed by the Governor and Judges, the laws passed by the Legislature of the Northwest Territory prior to the creation of Ohio; (3) A suggestion by Mr. Sibley was inserted in the Act to the effect that all cases pending in the courts of Indiana Territory which would properly be within the jurisdiction of the courts of the new Territory should be transferred to such courts for determination.

HISTORY OF PROHIBITION LEGISLATION IN MICHIGAN

BY FLOYD B. STREETER, M. A. LANSING

THE adoption of the recent constitutional amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic and intoxicating liquors in Michigan and the increasing possibility of national prohibition impels one to investigate the subject and find out about the origin, extent and character of the legislation on this question in Michigan.

If we take into consideration the laws relating to the sale of intoxicating drinks in force in the Northwest Territory, this legislation has covered approximately a century and a quarter of time. During the first half of this period laws were enacted mainly for the purpose of regulating and restricting the sale of liquor to the people as a whole and of prohibiting it only to certain groups; there was no attempt to suppress the manufacture of it or to prohibit its sale generally in the Territory or State. In the last sixty years on the other hand, a number of acts looking toward State-wide prohibition have been placed on the statute books and relatively fewer for the regulation of the traffic. Though most of these laws did not accomplish the purpose for which they were enacted, yet out of the experiences and experiments of the past, measures have evolved which may meet the wishes of the most ardent prohibitionists. The acts in the past have failed however more because of the lack of sympathy and indifference among the people, or neglect of duty on the part of officials, than because of defects in the laws. The present laws will be effective just

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in proportion to the amount of support they receive from the people and from the officers enforcing them.

As might be expected, prohibitory legislation in its earliest form was enacted to suppress the sale or gift of intoxicating liquor to Indians, in order to prevent the dangerous abuses resulting from the traffic. On July 19, 1790, a law was passed providing that a trader or other person residing in or passing through the Northwest Territory who should "furnish, vend, sell or give," or "direct or procure to be furnished, vended, sold or given" intoxicating drinks to any Indian in the Territory, was subject to the fines specified in this Act. 1 Shortly after the declaration of war in 1812 the Governor and Judges of Michigan Territory adopted a law which declared that any person selling, bartering or disposing of intoxicants to Indians in the Territory, or conveying or helping to convey liquor out of it for this purpose, was subject to a fine of not less than five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars, together with the cost of the suit and the forfeiture of the article received in exchange for the beverage.2 Three years later, persons licensed to sell liquor were prohibited from selling it to Indians without the permission of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs or some person duly authorized by him.3

At an equally early date the sale of intoxicating beverages to soldiers was restricted. A law of July 26, 1790, prohibited persons from selling intoxicants to soldiers in the service of the United States in the Northwest Territory within ten miles of a military post without a written order from a com-

Laws of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio (1790), Chapter XI

^{2.} Laws of Michigan Territory, I, 180-181.

^{3.} Ibid, 201-202.

missioned officer serving with the troops.⁴ A similar measure was adopted from the laws of New York and Ohio by the Governor and Judges of Michigan Territory in 1815, which provided that intoxicating drinks should not be sold or given to any soldier or member of the militia in service without the written permission of the officer in command.⁵

Laws were also placed on the statute books to prevent the sale of strong drinks to minors, servants and slaves. In 1795 an Act to license and regulate taverns adopted from the Pennsylvania code, placed a rather heavy penalty on any inn-keeper or retailer of liquor who should harbor or trust a minor or servant, and provided that no person should "furnish, supply or sell" intoxicating beverages to a bond servant or slave without permission from the master, nor could such servant or slave be arrested or attached for a debt contracted for liquor. Five years later a law was passed repealing the Act of 1795 and imposing a heavier penalty on the sale of intoxicants to minors and servants.

Among the prohibitory measures was one making it the duty of sheriffs and gaolers of each county to prevent the use of spirituous liquors except small beer by persons committed on criminal process.⁸ Another Act prohibited the sale or gift of intoxicants within two miles of a place where a religious society assembled for worship,⁹ while as early as 1815

Laws of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio (1790), Chapter XII.

^{5.} Laws of Michigan Territory, I, 201-202.

Laws of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio, Adopted May 29 to August 25, 1795. Pub. Cincinnati, 1796, pp. 96-101.

Laws of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio. Cincinnati, 1801, pp. 52-55.

^{8.} Laws of Michigan Territory, I, 469.

^{9.} Revised Statutes (1846), p. 684.

provision was made that persons licensed to keep taverns or sell liquor should not sell or give away ardent spirits on Sunday except to lodgers and travelers.¹⁰

The greater part of the legislation of this period attempted however to regulate the sale of alcoholic drinks by requiring licenses of persons wishing to open taverns, ale-houses and public houses of entertainment. Under the license laws drunkenness and unlawful games were usually prohibited, and in order to limit the number of houses and secure the most respectable class of proprietors some of the Acts provided that an applicant for a license should be recommended by worthy persons. The character of this legislation can be illustrated by stating the main provisions of the early Acts. According to the law of 1792 granting licenses to merchants, traders and tavern keepers, passed by the Governor and Judges of the Northwest Territory, a fine of five dollars and costs was imposed on any tavern keeper or retailer of liquor who sold alcoholic beverages in small quantities without a license. The Governor was authorized to appoint one commissioner in each county who should grant the necessary licenses to persons recommended by the justices of the general quarter sessions of the peace.11 Three years later a law was adopted from the Pennsylvania code providing that no person should keep a "public inn, tavern, ale-house, or dram-shop, or public house of entertainment" without first being recommended by the justices in the court of quarter sessions. 12 In 1800 this law was repealed and another enacted declaring that the keeper of such a place, in order to obtain a license,

^{10.} Laws of Michigan Territory, I, 201-202.

^{11.} Laws of the Northwest Territory. Philadelphia, 1794, pp. 5-12.

^{12.} Ibid. Cincinnati, 1796, pp. 96-101.

had to be recommended by twelve respectable freeholders in the county in which he did business, and imposed a fine of twenty dollars and costs on the selling of liquor in quantities of less than one quart without a license.¹³ Scarcely had the Governor and Judges arrived in Michigan Territory when they adopted a law from the Ohio statutes placing rather a heavy fine on any person who without a license sold strong drinks in a less quantity than one quart.¹⁴ The license laws of the Territory continued in force after Michigan was admitted as a State in the Union.¹⁵

In 1845 a new step was taken when the granting of licenses was placed under popular control. Under a law enacted this year the people at each township and charter election were permitted to decide by vote whether or not licenses might be issued in their respective township or city. If the majority voted in favor of license, the local authorities might "in their discretion, grant licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors, according to the provisions of existing laws." 16

By 1850 the license system was regarded as a failure, and consequently the question was fully discussed in the Constitutional Convention that year. During the debate a member from Oakland County declared that "for every dollar put into the treasury by the sale of licenses, fifty to one hundred are abstracted in the way of poor taxes, criminal prosecutions, and the thousand other expenses consequent upon this business," while another member said that in his county the expense of pauperism and crime resulting from the sale of

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^{13.} Ibid, Cincinnati, 1801, pp. 52-55.

^{14.} Laws of Michigan Territory, I, 40-44, 79-80, 195.

^{15.} Revised Statutes (1838), pp. 203-207.

^{16.} Laws of Michigan (1845), pp. 56-57.

^{17.} Constitutional Convention Debates (1850), p. 399.

liquor was a thousand dollars a year, and that the amount paid for licenses was a mere pittance.18 A large number of petitions were presented asking for the incorporation of a provision in the Constitution, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor or preventing the Legislature from legalizing the traffic.19 The members finally decided upon the following section: "The Legislature shall not pass any act authorizing the grant of license for the sale of ardent spirits or other intoxicating liquors."20 This remained in the Constitution until an amendment striking it out²¹ was adopted by the people in 1876 by a vote of 60,639 to 52,569.22 The incorporation of the above section in the State Constitution marked the opening of a new era in prohibition legislation. The Legislature no longer confined most of its effort to the regulation of the traffic; it now attempted State-wide prohibition of both the manufacture and the sale of ardent spirits by means of laws or constitutional amendments.

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In the early fifties the law in force in the State of Maine had many vehement advocates in Michigan. In his annual message on January 5, 1853, Governor McClelland called the attention of the Legislature to the need of remodelling the existing law.²³ Accordingly each house appointed a committee on the manufacture and sale of liquor.²⁴ Both Houses were

^{18.} Ibid, p. 400.

Ibid, pp. 93, 159, 239, 326, 341, 358, 428, 465, 483, 510, 522, 558, 590, 604, 621, 698; Journal of the Constitutional Convention (1850), pp. 74, 97, 121, 161, 162, 166, 175, 202, 226, 240, 256, 263, 264, 275, 281, 287, 293, 308.

^{20.} Constitution of 1850, Article IV, Section 47.

^{21.} Public Acts of Michigan (1875), p. 305.

^{22.} Michigan Manual (1877), pp. 295-298.

^{23.} Joint Documents (1853); Doc. I, p. 18.

The committee in the Senate was appointed January 8. Senate Journal (1853), p. 18.

flooded with petitions, most of them asking for the enactment of a law similar to that on the statute books of Maine. On January 20 the House Select Committee reported that thus far the names signed to the petitions numbered 70,000. Because of the unanimous desire of the people for the enactment of a law, the Committee said that one should be passed, and accordingly submitted a bill²⁵ which was adopted in the House on February 3 by a vote of 57 to 12²⁶; while the Senate, after making amendments in which the House later concurred,²⁷ adopted the measure on the 8th by a vote of 23 to 9.²⁸ The opposition consisted of two Whigs and ten Democrats in the House and nine Democrats in the Senate.

This Act provided that no person should manufacture or sell at any time "any spirituous or intoxicating liquors, or any mixed liquors, a part of which is spirituous or intoxicating," with one exception, namely: That the township or village board or common council of an incorporated city or village each fall might appoint for one year some person to sell liquors for mechanical and medicinal purposes only. Provision was also made for the submission of this Act to the electors in June for their approval or disapproval.²⁰ When the vote was polled it was found that the law was approved by a large majority.³⁰

This Act had scarcely become effective when it was practically nullified by the equal division of the members of the Supreme Court on the question of its constitutionality, in the

^{25.} House Journal (1853), pp. 139-140.

^{26.} Ibid, pp. 290-291.

^{27.} Ibid, pp. 357-358.

^{28.} Senate Journal (1853), pp. 254-255.

^{29.} Laws of Michigan (1853), pp. 100-111.

^{30.} Pontiac Gazette, June 25, 1853.

case of the People vs. Collins. This case came into the Supreme Court on reservation by the presiding judge of the Wayne Circuit Court on the question whether or not the prohibition law "was constitutionally in force." On this question the court was equally divided, four judges holding the affirmative and four the negative. In his opinion Judge Pratt of the negative emphasized the point that the provision submitting the law to the people was a delegation of legislative power to them, which was unauthorized by the Constitution. Judge Green, holding the affirmative, maintained on the other hand that the submission of this measure to the electors was not a delegation of legislative power, because the law was complete when it passed from the hands of the Legislature and the people neither added nor subtracted anything.31

When the next Legislature met, the newly organized Republican party was in power in Michigan. A word may be useful at this point about the composition of political parties in the fifties and their attitude toward liquor legislation. The Free Democrats, who were the most radical opponents of slavery and among the strongest advocates of temperance in the State, 32 adopted a resolution in their mass convention in 1852 asking for the adoption of a law similar to that in force in Maine³³; and two years later they urged the re-enactment of a prohibitory law free from constitutional objections.34 The Republican party, organized in 1854, was composed of practically all the Free Democrats, the radical Whigs, the radical Democrats, most of the ministers of the Protestant churches, a large portion of the members of the Baptist, Congregational,

31. Michigan Reports, III, 343.

^{32.} New York Daily Tribune, April 26, 1854.

^{33.} Detroit Daily Advertiser, September 6, 1852.

^{34.} Detroit Daily Democrat, February 23, 1854.

Methodist Episcopal, Quaker and Wesleyan Methodist churches,35 and a majority of the members of the temperance organization.36 In other words, it was a union of all the radical elements in the State. The party was especially strong in the interior rural counties where the small farmers were predominant. The vehement allegiance of the Protestant clergymen and the temperance advocates gave a pronounced moral tone to the party. Thus it is quite natural that the Republicans should have supported the prohibition movement. On the other hand the Democratic party was becoming more conservative. In its ranks in the fifties were a large number of conservative and wealthy men, especially in eastern Michigan, 37 a portion of the conservative Whigs, many Presbyterians and Episcopalians, and most of the Catholics.38 The majority of the foreigners, who in the early days had united with the Democratic party because its economic, social and political principles were their own, and because of the aristocratic traditions and nativistic tendencies of the Whigs, still held their allegiance to it. Their loyalty was undoubtedly more firm because of the temperance principles of the Republicans. A radical German in the Saginaw Valley said he did not see much choice in politics at this time with "slavery on the one side, the temperance humbug on the other."39. The

Result obtained by a study of church statistics and party votes in the fifties.

Grand Rapids Enquirer, November 11, 1854; Detroit Free Press, July 22, 1856; Livingstone, History of the Republican Party, I, 50.

The returns of the election of 1854 are in the Marshall Statesman, December 27, 1854.

^{38.} Data gathered in a study of the statistics of the period.

Frank, Pionierjahre der Familien Frank-Kerler in Michigan und Wisconsin, p. 290.

desire of the Democrats to keep the temperance question out of politics,⁴⁰ their opposition to the prohibition bill in the Legislature of 1855, and their adoption of a resolution in the State convention the following year demanding the repeal of this law because it was inefficient and not enforced,⁴¹ offered an excellent opportunity for such charges as the one made in 1854 by a New York newspaper that the Democratic party in Michigan "draws much of its vitality from variously disguised whiskey and lager beer."⁴²

The Legislature of 1855 was composed of a large majority of Republicans. In his inaugural message Governor Bingham recommended the passage of a prohibitory law free from constitutional objections. This portion of his message was referred to a select committee in the House 1, a bill was introduced which passed the House on January 24 by a vote of 51 to 21⁴⁵ and the Senate on February 1 by 23 to 0; amendments made in the Senate were concurred in by the House. The Democratic members cast all the dissenting votes.

This law was entitled an "act to prevent the manufacture and sale of spirituous or intoxicating liquors as a beverage." It prohibited all persons from selling or manufacturing intoxicating drinks; declared that all payments of money for liquor were illegal; that agreements made contrary to its provisions were null and void and that no suits at law could

^{40.} Michigan Argus, April 27, 1854; Detroit Free Press, July 10, 1855.

^{41.} Detroit Free Press, August 8, 1856.

^{42.} New York Daily Tribune, April 26, 1854,

^{43.} Joint Documents (1855), Doc. 12, pp. 10-11.

^{44.} House Journal (1855), p. 97.

^{45.} Ibid, p. 209.

^{46.} Senate Journal (1855), p. 202.

^{47.} Ibid, p. 212.

be maintained in such cases. This law also repealed the Act of 1853.48

The next legislation of importance occurred in 1867. This year the Legislature passed an Act making it unlawful for anyone to sell ardent spirits to students attending public or private institutions of learning and to minors, or to allow them to play cards, dice, billiards and games of chance in a building where liquors were sold. The offender was liable to a fine of twenty dollars and the costs of prosecution and, in default of payment, imprisonment in the county jail for sixty days.49 The prohibition question received its share of attention from the Constitutional Convention this year. The dis- 1767 cussion centered about the proposed section containing the provision in the Constitution of 1850, and a substitute providing for the submission of alternative sections to the people: the one prohibiting all licenses for the sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage, the other a provision for the regulation of the sale of liquors by a tax, license or some other means.50 The convention finally submitted to the people a measure which if accepted was to form an additional section to the Constitution. This provided that the Legislature should not pass any Act authorizing the grant of license, but should prohibit the sale of liquor as a beverage.⁵¹ The proposed measure was rejected however by a popular vote of 72,468 to 86,143.52

By the early seventies the prohibition law was practically a dead letter on the statute books; consequently there was a

^{48.} Laws of Michigan (1855), pp. 13-25.

^{49.} Ibid, (1867), I, 128-129.

^{50.} Journal of the Constitutional Convention of 1867, pp. 16, 32, 76, 203, 544, 772-779, 917; Debates and Proceedings, I, 596; II, 664-688, 772-779.

^{51.} Journal of the Constitutional Convention, pp. 880-881.

^{52.} Michigan Manual (1889), p. 441.

demand for something different, chiefly for the regulation of the traffic by means of a tax. The Constitutional Commission of 1873 agreed upon a section which was to be submitted to the electorate along with the amended constitution. This provided for an annual tax which should be levied on all persons and firms engaged in selling or disposing of liquor other than for medicinal, mechanical and chemical purposes; it prohibited the sale of intoxicating drinks to minors, insane people and persons under guardianship, and permitted the Legislature to increase the annual tax and make further regulations.53 In 1875 the Governor called the attention of the Legislature to the fact that there were considerably over six thousand places in the State selling liquor, and that over five thousand persons were daily violating the prohibition law. He urged this body as an experiment to enact stringent laws regulating the sale of liquor, prohibiting its sale to minors, apprentices and habitual drunkards, compelling the saloons to close on holy days and at a reasonable hour at night, and levving a tax on the business. This legislation he believed would reduce the number of liquor shops one-half.54 The Legislature passed laws embodying part of the Governor's suggestions. One of these imposed an annual tax on all persons in Michigan selling liquors shipped in from outside the State;55 another made provision for taxing the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks and repealed the prohibitory law of 1855 and all amendatory Acts thereto;56 while a third measure made the sale and delivery of ardent spirits to minors and habitual



^{53.} Journal of the Constitutional Commission (1873), pp. 216-217.

^{54.} Message of John J. Bagley (1875), pp. 30-31.

^{55.} Public Acts of Michigan (1875), pp. 271-272.

^{56.} Ibid, pp. 274-275.

drunkards unlawful.⁵⁷ A joint resolution was also passed amending the Constitution by striking out the clause relating to licenses,⁵⁸ which was adopted by the people by a vote of 60,639 to 52,561.⁵⁹ In 1877 the Governor stated that statistics showed there was a great decrease in drunkenness and in the number of saloons in the two years. He suggested however that a law should be passed fixing the time within which the liquor tax might be collected, because many of the local officials were neglecting their duties.⁶⁰ The Legislature acted according to his suggestions.⁶¹ This and succeeding Legislatures also enacted additional laws relating to minors, increased the amount of the annual tax and made the penalty for violation heavier.⁶²

In the following decade there was a great demand for the submission to the electorate of a constitutional amendment to suppress the traffic in intoxicating drinks. According to Governor Regole, "petitions signed by scores of thousands of the good people of the State" were presented to the Legislature in 1883. Governor Alger in his retiring message in 1887, and Governor Luce in his inaugural message the same year, recommended the submission of such an amendment to the people. Accordingly the Legislature adopted a joint resolution permitting the electors to vote in April on an amendment pro-

^{57.} Ibid, pp. 283-284.

^{58.} Ibid, p. 305.

^{59.} Michigan Manual (1877), pp. 295-298.

^{60.} Message of John J. Bagley (1877), pp. 30-31.

^{61.} Public Acts of Michigan (1877), pp. 231-239.

^{62.} *Ibid*, (1877), pp. 212-214, 231-239; (1879), pp. 293-298; (1881), pp. 73, 148-149, 350-357; (1887), pp. 445-460; (1889), pp. 301-315

^{63.} Message of Josiah W. Begole (1885), p. 15.

Message of Russell A. Alger (1887), p. 12; Message of Cyrus G. Luce (1887), p. 14.

hibiting the manufacture, gift or sale of spirituous, malt or vinous liquors in Michigan except for medicinal, mechanical, chemical or scientific purposes. The people were divided however between prohibition and regulation by taxation. A very vigorous campaign was waged in which the temperance question was thoroughly discussed, but in the election the amendment was rejected by a vote of 178,470 to 184,305.

The Legislature of 1887 also passed the first Local Option Law in Michigan. The bill, entitled "an act to regulate the manufacture and sale" of intoxicating drinks in the several counties of the State, was adopted in the House on June 8 by a vote of 51 to 40,68 and in the Senate a week later by 21 to 7.60 It provided that on application by a petition signed by not less than one-fifth of the voters in any county as shown by the poll lists of the last gubernatorial election, the county clerk should call an election within forty days. If the majority of the electors in the county should vote in favor of prohibition, the general laws relating to liquor were to be suspended and the sale of intoxicating liquors after the first Monday in May following the election was to be illegal; the penalty for violation of this Act was a fine of not less than \$50 nor more than \$500 or imprisonment in the county jail not less than ten days nor more than six months, or both fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court. 70.

Though thirty-five out of the thirty-seven counties which

^{65.} Public Acts of Michigan (1887), p. 466.

Van Buren, "Our Temperance Conflict" in the Michigan Historical Collections, XIII, 403.

^{67.} Ibid, p. 404.

^{68.} House Journal (1887), p. 2449.

^{69.} Senate Journal (1887), p. 1946.

^{70.} Public Acts of Michigan (1887), pp. 212-213.

voted on local option⁷¹ immediately adopted the measure by large majorities, the Act was very short-lived. In the April term, 1888, the question of its constitutionality was brought before the Supreme Court in re Charles Hauck. In his decision Judge Champlin declared that the law was unconstitutional, because its object was to prohibit the sale of the kinds of liquor mentioned in it, while in the title the expression "to regulate" was used. He also pointed out six other defects fatal to its validity.⁷²

At the opening of the next Legislature the Governor urged the enactment of a law free from constitutional objections. 73 In accordance with his recommendation, this body by a majority of thirteen in the House⁷⁴ and ten in the Senate⁷⁵ adopted the Local Option Act which with amendments has remained on the statute books to the present time. It provided that upon a written application and petition signed by not less than one-fourth of the qualified voters of any county, the county clerk should call a meeting of the board of supervisors and present the matter to them. Thereupon the supervisors were to issue an order for an election to be held on a Monday within not less than forty nor more than sixty days. If the prohibition measure should be carried, the supervisors were required to order all saloons closed, and it would be unlawful for anyone to sell, keep or manufacture liquor in the county after the first of the following May.76 In 1895 this Act was amended so as to prevent the fraudulent use of names as

^{71.} Message of Hon. Cyrus G. Luce (1889), p. 21.

^{72.} Michigan Reports, LXX, 396-413.

^{73.} Message of Hon. Cyrus G. Luce (1889), pp. 21-22.

^{74.} House Journal (1889), p. 1633.

^{75.} Senate Journal (1889), p. 1199.

^{76.} Public Acts of Michigan (1889), pp. 286-295.

signatures to petitions,⁷⁷ and four years later the necessary number of names to the petition and application was increased to one-third.⁷⁸

Between 1890 and 1917, seventy-six counties voted on local option. Prior to 1900 only ten counties voted on the question; seven of these adopted prohibition at the first election. Of all this number Van Buren is the only county which has remained dry to the present day. Twenty counties have been dry since 1912; while during the twenty-seven years, out of the seventy-six counties twenty-two have opposed prohibition at every election when it was an issue.

In the past third of a century several liquor laws have been enacted. The provisions have been various. The sale of intoxicants has been prohibited within one mile of the home for disabled soldiers, sailors and marines. Elections have been forbidden to be held in a saloon, and the sale of liquor prohibited on election day. Boards of registration should not meet in saloons. The selling or giving intoxicating drinks to prisoners except under the direction of a physician should

^{77.} Ibid, (1895), p. 543. The signatures on a petition in one township were to be kept separate from those in other local places, the lists of names were to be posted in three conspicuous places in the township and the petition was to be accompanied by a transcript of the poll list.

^{78.} Ibid, (1899), pp. 276-277.

^{79.} Michigan Manual (1917), pp. 338-347, 951.

^{80.} Public Acts of Michigan (1887), p. 30.

Ibid, (1891), p. 270; Local Option Law and Laws Relating to the Manufacture and Use of Spirituous Liquors (1915), pp. 71, 74.

Local Option Law and Laws Relating to the Manufacture and Use of Spirituous Liquors (1915), p. 72: Act 190, P. A. 1877; p. 73: Act 281, P. A. 1909.

^{83.} Ibid, p. 74: Act 23, P. A. 1889.

be illegal.⁸⁴ Cities of the fourth class and villages have been empowered to regulate and suppress the liquor traffic.⁸⁵ Railroad companies should not employ any person who used "intoxicating drinks as a beverage."⁸⁶ Minors under seventeen years of age and those attending school should not be allowed to spend their time in saloons.⁸⁷ Children should not be bound out, apprentised or given to a saloonkeeper.⁸⁸ Every boy between the ages of ten and sixteen, and every girl between ten and seventeen, who should frequent or lounge about saloons, was to be regarded as a truant and disorderly child.⁸⁹ Persons under twenty-one years of age should not be permitted to work in theaters, concert halls or places of amusement where intoxicating drinks were on sale. No girl or woman should be permitted to act as barkeeper or to dance in a saloon or other place where liquor was sold.⁹⁰

The Legislature of 1909 passed an Act greatly aiding the temperance movement, which provided that the number of retail liquor dealers in each township, village or city should not exceed one to every five hundred inhabitants.⁹¹ As a result, more than two hundred saloons in the Upper Peninsula went out of business on May 1, 1912.⁹²

The adoption of the constitutional amendment in April,

Ibid, pp. 75-77: Act 17, P. A. 1909; Act 118, P. A. 1893; extract from Revised Statutes (1846).

Ibid, pp. 77-79: Acts 3 and 215, P. A. 1895; Acts 278 and 279, P. A. 1909.

^{86.} Ibid, p. 80: Act 198, P. A. 1873.

^{87.} Ibid, p. 82: Act 260, P. A. 1881.

^{88.} Ibid, pp. 80-81: Act 193, P. A. 1887.

^{89.} Ibid, pp. 81-82: Act 222, P. A. 1887.

^{90.} Ibid, p. 83: Act 285, P. A. 1909.

^{91.} Public Acts of Michigan (1909), p. 686: Act 291, Sec. 39.

^{92.} Anti-Saloon League Year Book (1916), p. 225.

1913,93 providing that amendments might be proposed by a petition signed by not less than ten per cent of the legal voters paved the way for the anti-saloon forces to secure the submission of a prohibition amendment to the people. Accordingly a mass meeting was held in Lansing on November 2, 1915, and petitions were circulated relative to an amendment to be submitted to the electorate in the fall of 1916.95 This provided that the "manufacture, sale, keeping for sale, giving away, bartering or furnishing of any vinous, malt, brewed, fermented, spirituous or intoxicating liquors, except for medicinal, mechanical, chemical, scientific or sacramental purposes," should be prohibited after April 30, 1918, and that the Legislature should regulate by law the sale of such liquors as might be sold. The people adopted the amendment on November 7, 1916, by a vote of 353,378 to 284,754,96 and the Legislature of 1917 enacted the laws necessary to carry out the provisions of the amendment.97

A study based on the 1910 census⁹⁵ and the votes on local option and the constitutional amendment, reveals certain tendencies toward an alignment of the people on the prohibition issue according to sections and economic interests. In the more sparsely settled northern counties, in the counties in which a very large per cent of the voting population is foreign-born or of alien parentage, and in those where there is the greatest number of saloons in proportion to the num-

^{93.} Michigan Manual (1913), p. 779.

^{94.} Public Acts of Michigan (1913), pp. 780-782.

^{95.} Anti-Saloon League Year Book (1916), p. 225.

^{96.} Michigan Manual (1917), p. 483.

^{97.} Public Acts of Michigan (1917), pp. 291-292, 820-836.

Statistics are taken from Abstract of the Thirteenth Census with Michigan Supplement.

ber of inhabitants, of the people have tended to oppose prohibition. In the urban counties in southern Michigan, in



which the greater number of the factories are located and a relatively large number of wage earners reside, the people gave either a majority against the prohibition amendment or only

^{99.} Michigan Campaign Manual for a Dry State May 1, 1916, p. 12.

a small majority in favor of it. Furthermore there was a tendency, though not a general one, for the sections containing a large number of small farmers to give the amendment a relatively small vote. On the other hand, with a few exceptions, the more densely populated rural counties in which most of the people are native-born, and those counties containing a comparatively small number of saloons and a large per cent of the medium-sized and large farms, have given the temperance movement strong support.





JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL.D. 1829-1916

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JAMES BURRILL ANGELL AND THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BY WILFRED B. SHAW, A. B.

(SECRETARY U. OF M. ALUMNI ASSOCIATION)

ANN ARBOR

THE administration of James Burrill Angell, President of the University of Michigan for thirty-eight years, covered a significant period in the history of American education. It was also a critical time in the life of the University. In the years between 1871 and 1909 Michigan made a practical and successful demonstration of a new experiment, the popularization of education, and the maintenance of a school system and a university by the State.

While the University of Michigan might have developed much as it has without the guidance of President Angell, it may be questioned whether it would have been as effective as a leader in the new movement. The principles which underlie the State university system were stated well by the founders who incorporated the fundamental idea of popular education in the first constitution of the State. Michigan's first great President, Chancellor Henry Philip Tappan, tried his best to make them practical. But he was ahead of his time, and

^{1.} For students and graduates of the University of Michigan, the month of April will always be sacred to the memory of President Angell. This article by Mr. Shaw is selected by permission from numerous tributes appearing in the April, 1916, number of the Michigan Alumnus. Its place in this number of the Magazine appropriately commemorates Dr. Angell's connection with the State's historical work, as Honorary member of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.—Ed.

it was not until President Angell came to Michigan from Vermont, in 1871, that there was progress towards a true University. When he came Michigan was still a college. It was the work of Dr. Angell to build, and to build well, upon foundations already laid; to harmonize, with practical idealism and diplomacy, the advanced ideals of the University with the slower progress of the Commonwealth. While it has come to be no reproach upon the fame of Dr. Tappan that he failed in just this particular, it is the great achievement of Dr. Angell that he succeeded. He made Michigan the model for all succeeding State universities.

Dr. Angell, fresh from his work in the East as Professor of Modern Languages at Brown University, war-time editor of the Providence Journal and President of the University of Vermont, came to Michigan in June 1871, eight years after the resignation of Chancellor Tappan. The six years from 1863 to 1869 had been filled with success by the Reverend Erastus O. Haven, a man of much more conservative temper than Dr. Tappan, who devoted himself to caring for the material affairs of the University rather than the problems of future development. Professor Henry S. Frieze, one of the most striking figures in the history of the University, followed as Acting President for two years. He found opportunity in his short administration to further Dr. Tappan's ideas in many ways. Two steps were taken at that time which have had a far-reaching effect in American education, the admission of women and the final establishment of organic relations with the high schools of the State. In fact, the first two women were graduated at the end of the same year that saw President Angell assume his new duties as Dr. Frieze's successor.

The faculty which greeted him in 1871 was a brilliant one,

though small in numbers, less than forty all told, compared with over ten times that number when he resigned his office. The Catalogue of 1871 shows 1,110 students enrolled, in contrast to 5,223 in 1909.

At the time of his death, April 1, 1916, Dr. Angell was eighty-seven years old. He was born in Scituate, R. I., January 7, 1829, of good New England stock, and lived the simple life of a country boy. He attended the village school, the academy of one Isaac Fiske, a Quaker pedagogue, of Scituate,—until he was ready for more advanced studies at the academies of Seekonk, Mass., and North Scituate.

This early training, in his later estimation, furnished him the best possible instruction, because it involved personal attention from special instructors, a good old fashioned method, which the rapid development of this country has made almost impossible, yet a practice for which he stood consistently as far as possible throughout his whole career as an educator. In speaking of his early schooling, he said that "no plan had been marked out for me; being fond of study and almost equally fond of all branches, I took nearly everything that was taught, merely because it was taught."

His health as a boy was delicate, giving small promise of his hale and hearty four score years, and he spent perforce two years, from fourteen to sixteen, on a farm. As to the value of this experience, far from uncommon in the lives of many men eminent in the history of this country, he said, "I prize very highly the education I received then. I learned how much back-ache a dollar earned in the field represents." He prepared for Brown University at a grammar school in Providence where he studied under Henry S. Frieze, destined to become his immediate predecessor in the Presidency of

Michigan. He was graduated from Brown, with highest honors, in 1849.

This early New England training was particularly fortunate for one who was to come into such close relationship with the pioneer settlers of Michigan,-New Englanders to a very large extent. Equally fortunate was his later training. His first residence abroad, where he acquired the familiarity with modern languages which fitted him for his first professorship, had been preceded by a year as assistant in the library at Brown University; then he became tutor, and later a student of civil engineering in the office of the city engineer of Boston. In fact, he spent this period to such advantage that later, upon his return from Europe, he was given the choice of a professorship either in civil engineering or modern languages, an evidence of the wide range of his interests. He finally chose modern languages as his subject, and entered upon his career as a teacher, where he developed the highest qualifications. He remained at Brown for seven years.

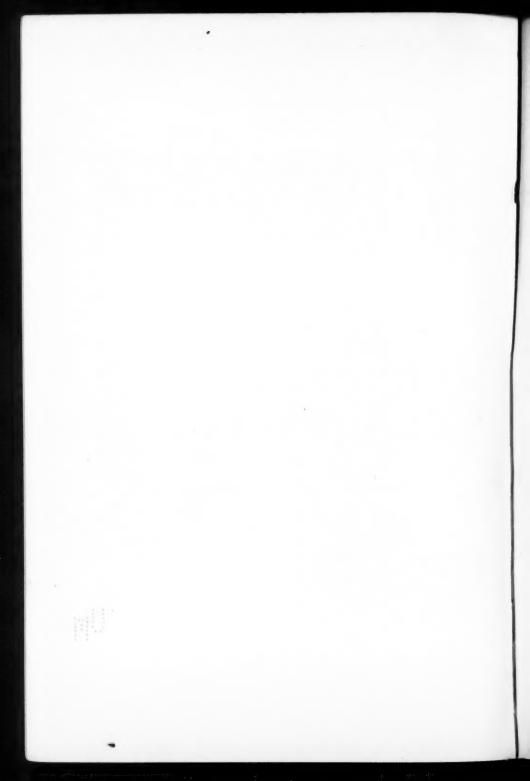
Many articles and reviews published in the Providence Journal justified his selection in 1860 as the editor of that paper, a position which he held throughout the Civil War with singular distinction.

In 1866, Dr. Angell was offered the Presidency of the University of Vermont, and he accepted it. He took charge of the University when its fortunes were at a low ebb, and the future was not bright. It was due to the administrative ability of the new President as well as to his ripe experience and culture that the day was saved and Vermont prospered, intellectually and financially, during the five years of his administration.

After the resignation of President Haven in 1869, the Regents of the University of Michigan invited Dr. Angell to the



 $\label{eq:DR.ANGELL} DR. \ ANGELL$ At the time he came to the University of Michigan



vacant chair, but he felt constrained to decline; his work at Vermont was not completed. Two years later the call was again extended and this time it was accepted. Speaking of his decision to come to Michigan, Dr. Angell said twenty-five years later: "While, with much embarrassment, I was debating the question in my own mind whether I should come here, I fell in with a friend who had very large business interests, and he made this very suggestive remark to me: 'Given the long lever, it is no harder to lift a big load than it is with a shorter one to lift a smaller load.' I decided to try the end of the longer lever.'2

James Burrill Angell was inaugurated President of the University of Michigan in June, 1871. From that time his life was the life of the University except for interludes of diplomatic service in China, Turkey, and upon various commissions. His diplomatic career, though only incidental to his life work as an educator, showed that he possessed the necessary qualifications for what might well have been a very distinguished career in other fields. At the time of his appointment to China as Minister Plenipotentiary, diplomatic relations in the East were decidedly indirect and characteristically Oriental. It had just taken Germany two years to conclude a rather unimportant commercial treaty, and upon his arrival at Peking his colleagues in the diplomatic service laughed at him for supposing that his one year's leave of absence would suffice for his far more important mission. Yet the revision of the Burlingame treaty, restricting the importation of cheap coolie labor into this country, which he sought, was accomplished within two months. Another important commercial treaty relative to the importation of opium had

^{2.} President Angell's Quarter Centennial; Addresses, p. 34.

likewise been completed in the same time. He was also successful in his mission to Turkey in 1898 and as a member of the Alaska Fisheries and other international commissions.

But his heart was in his work at Ann Arbor, and thither he always returned despite flattering temptations to enter diplomatic life. A great opportunity lay before him when he took up his new duties and he recognized it. It was his task to bring the State, exemplified at that time by a not always sympathetic Legislature, and by a Board of Regents of continually varying complexion, to a realization of the true function of a university supported by the State. He must arouse the enthusiasm for education and learning which he knew lay deep in the hearts of the people of Michigan. As Professor Charles Kendall Adams, later President of Cornell and Wisconsin said: "What was called for first of all was the creation and dissemination of an appreciative public opinion that would produce in some way or other, the means necessary for the adequate support of the University." So well did Dr. Angell accomplish this purpose that of late years he loved to dwell, in his speeches before the Alumni, upon what he chose to call the "passion for education" on the part of the people of the State, forgetting utterly the yeoman service he performed all his life toward bringing about that same regard for popular education.

It is true that the foundation and declaration of the educational ideals of the West cannot be ascribed to him. Nevertheless he must be regarded, more than any other one man, as the successful pilot who avoided the difficulties which the very novelty of the situation presented. The comparative freedom from precedent offered an unrivalled opportunity to try new theories in education, and was a continual temptation to try policies which must have proved too advanced.

A survey of the educational system in the West at the time he came to Michigan, may be of interest. As regards the number of students, quality of work, and the eminence of the men upon her Faculties, Michigan stood far in advance of other State institutions. This very pre-eminence, however, threw a greater responsibility upon the new President. Lacking precedents, he had to make them for himself, so that the place of the State university in the educational world today is in great degree the measure of success he had in dealing with the practical problems which confronted him throughout his extraordinarily long term of office. When he came to Michigan there was only one other State university of any size, Wisconsin, although several others had already been established. If the report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1871 is to be relied upon, none of them except Michigan, and possibly Wisconsin, were in anything like a flourishing condition. While Michigan had, all told, 1,110 students, of whom 483 were in the Literary Department, Wisconsin had only 355, omitting a preparatory department of 131 students. Minnesota had but 167 students with 144 in the preparatory department, while Kansas enrolled 313. No figures were given for Illinois, which was then the Illinois Industrial University, and Nebraska, both of which had been established for several years. `

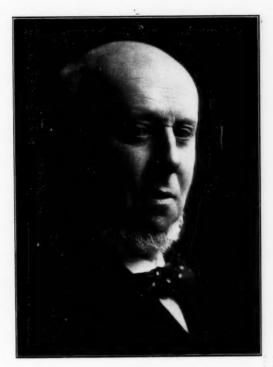
Yet Michigan, although she was well in the lead in point of numbers as well as in the strength of her professional schools, was far from realizing her possibilities. It would, of course, be a rash assertion to say that she has realized them now. But it is safe to say that no State has maintained more truly the type of the well rounded university,—a large college of liberal arts, with traditions of culture and scholarship

which began with its very foundation, surrounded by a ring of effective professional schools.

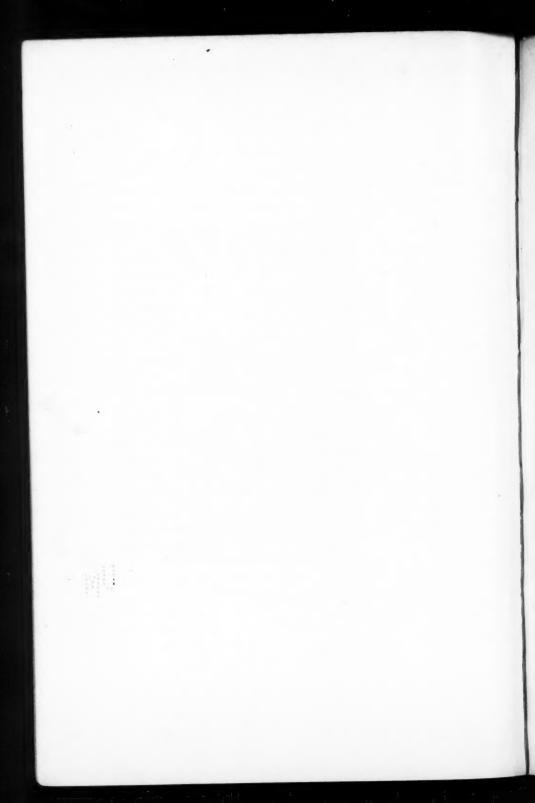
Soon after he came, the present system of revenue from the State was first made operative, in 1873. This was in the shape of an annual proportion of the State taxes, fixed at first at onetwentieth of a mill on every dollar of taxable property. This proportion continued for twenty years. Since then it has been increased several times, until it is now three-eighths of a mill on every dollar, and netted the University in 1909 \$650,000 instead of the \$15,000 of 1873. The total income of the University for the last year of Dr. Angell's administration was \$1,290,000, as against \$76,702.52 received during his first year. In fact, when President Angell came to Michigan it had just become in reality a State institution, as the first appropriation of money for its support, aside from the sale of certain public lands which went for a song, was made in 1867-69. Before that time, the State had never given any financial proof that the University was a State institution, beyond loaning the original \$100,000 when it was first founded. The idea was there, but it had never been made vital.

It was perhaps in the more strictly academic side of the development of the University that Dr. Angell's peculiar genius as an administrative officer was most apparent. When he came, he was forty-two years of age, and in Professor Hinsdale's words, "brought to his new and responsible post extended scholarship, familiar acquaintance with society and the world, administrative experience, a persuasive eloquence, and a cultivated personality." This urbanity and extraordinary ability as a speaker won for him from the first a place in the hearts and in the imaginations of the people of the State. His birth and training gave him a sympathetic appreciation

will toll



 $$\operatorname{DR}.$$ ANGELL $$\operatorname{At}$$ the end of his years as President of the University



of their point of view, which apparently was the one thing which his predecessor, Dr. Tappan, lacked. President Angell felt that the people only needed to be shown and they would stand ready to help the University.

But there were other and even more vital administrative problems which faced him. In the first place, he had to make Michigan a true university as distinguished from a college. He had to correlate and concentrate the various departments, and make them complete by adding a school for effective graduate work. Certain revolutionary steps, such as the admission of women, the first tentative steps toward free election of studies, the introduction of a scientific course, had been instituted by his immediate predecessors; it became his duty to make them a success.

Almost contemporaneous with Dr. Angell's inauguration as President, was the introduction of the seminar system of teaching, in effect a further application of the German methods; not only should the teacher be an investigator and searcher after truth, but the student as well; and more important still, the student should be taught how to carry on original investigation himself by means of seminar classes where student and teacher worked together on original problems. According to Professor Hinsdale, "there is good reason to think that Michigan was the first American university to naturalize this product of German soil."

With all these innovations under way, Dr. Angell found many other opportunities for the introduction of new ideas in education—some of them as startling and as revolutionary as certain of the earlier experiments. These included a modification of that traditional course of classical studies which can be traced back directly to the Middle Ages. The estab-

lishment of the Latin course, which dropped the requirement of Greek, was the first step; this was further modified in 1877 by the establishment of an English course in which no classics



were required. The scientific course also underwent further modifications during this year (1877-78), which was characterized by many radical changes, though they do not strike one so nowadays. A still more revolutionary step was taken by

throwing open more than half the courses to free election, permitting some students to shorten their college course, and enabling others to enrich their course with other than the prescribed studies, heretofore compulsory and admitting of almost no variation.

All these changes resulted in an immediate increase in attendance, almost twenty per cent the first year they went into force. As a direct result of Dr. Angell's recommendation the first chair in the Science and the Art of Teaching in any American university was established in 1880, coming as a necessary corollary to the intimate relation maintained and encouraged by the University between itself and the high schools of the State. In 1891 this department was empowered to grant certificates permitting any student possessing one to teach in any high school in the State.

The Graduate School practically came into being during his administration, as there was really nothing worthy of the name of graduate work before, in spite of the heroic efforts of President Tappan. It was during Dr. Angell's administration also that the professional schools assumed the prominent place they now occupy. When he first became President, both the Law and Medical Schools consisted of two courses of lectures, of six months duration, with no severe examination required for admittance. Now they require three and four years of nine months each, as well as two years of work in the Literary College.

Many honors came to Dr. Angell in the course of his long life, as was inevitable. His scholarship was universally recognized. He received the degree of LL.D. from Brown University in 1868, Columbia University in 1887, Rutgers College in 1896, Princeton University in 1896, Yale University in

1901, John Hopkins University in 1902, University of Wisconsin in 1904, Harvard University in 1905 and the University of Michigan in 1912. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences of Boston, and the American Historical Association, of which he was president in 1893. Dr. Angell was a charter member of the American Academy at Rome. For many years he was also regent of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. He was always a leader in the Congregational Church and presided at the International Congregational Council which met in Boston in September, 1899. This body was composed of delegates from all parts of the world, and represented the scholastical and ecclesiastical organization of the Church in the persons of its most distinguished members.

Neither position, public honors, nor improvement in the equipment and personnel of the University represents rightly, however, the real work of President Angell. His greatest influence lay in his dealings with the students, and through them, upon the educational ideals of the West. And it is precisely this influence, quietly acquired and characteristically wielded, which represents what is perhaps his greatest claim upon the consideration of the future. No one who had the privilege of hearing him speak failed to respond to the quiet persuasiveness of his presence and the charm of his personality. There are some persons in whom is inherent a certain magnetic mastery over numbers. He had this to an extraordinary degree. Merely by rising he could bring absolute stillness upon a cheering throng of students or alumni, and with a few words, quiet but remarkably distinct, he could

rouse to a remarkable pitch that sentiment known as college spirit. His whole figure was expressive of a benign goodness, illuminated most humanly by the worldly wisdom of an experienced diplomat.

. All through his career, Dr. Angell gave evidence of certain characteristics which had definite effects upon his policy as President. Professor Charles H. Cooley has characterized the especial qualities which made for his success as "his faith and his adaptability." Dr. Angell always believed in the tendency of the right to prevail, and was willing to wait with a "masterly inactivity," avoiding too much injudicious assistance. He was always able to maintain a broad and comprehensive view, the attitude of the administrator, and was faithful in his belief in the Higher Power which guides the destiny of men-and universities. His diplomatic genius, the combination of teacher and man of the world, enabled him to keep in close and sympathetic touch, not only with the student life about him, but also with the difficult problems of an ever-growing Faculty. He always showed himself surprisingly shrewd, yet withal charitable, in the judgment of men and of their character, a qualification which enabled him to follow a laissez-faire policy until the proper time. Often his penetration and insight in analyses of recent current problems and questions, which might be supposed not to interest so particularly a man of his years, have surprised his young associates and have given evidence of the wonderful vitality, the spirit of youth, which lived within him.

Ann Arbor was long accustomed to his familiar figure on his invariable morning "constitutional," walking with an elastic, springy step and a ruddy freshness in his complexion which almost belied his grey hairs and his well-known age. He passed few blocks without a word to some one, for a simple, kindly interest in those about him was one of his chief characteristics. It was this essential democracy which kept him for so many years in personal relations with his students, an interest which never flagged until the last, and which was shown by the close track which he always kept of the Alumni of the University. For the Alumni, he has always borne that simplest and most beloved of academic titles, "Prexy." No gentler tribute has even been paid than the words of his former pupil, Professor Charles M. Gayley, '78, now of the University of California, in the Commemoration Ode, read at the Quarter Centennial of Dr. Angell's Presidency:

For he recks of praises nothing, counts them fair nor fit: He, who bears his honors lightly And whose age renews its zest—



THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE ON THE CAMPUS OCCUPIED BY DR. ANGELL FOR \$\frac{1}{2}45\ YEARS.

To James Burrill Angell must be given a pre-eminent place among those who have made advanced learning for the young people of the land a matter of course. More than any other one person he helped to give to this country one of her proudest distinctions, the highest percentage in the world of college men and women.

EARLY CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN EMMET COUNTY

By Judge Thomas Linehan Harbor Springs

WHEN the pen of the historian traces in merited colorings the lives and work of the Catholic missionaries in Emmet County during the past centuries, a picture of beautiful characters and unique personalities presents itself, radiating inspiration and crystallizing plain human speech into thought worthy of a setting of gold. Great priests, great missonaries, were at work in Michigan from the latter part of the 17th century to the middle decades of the 19th century, laying the cornerstone of civilization, repeating to the wild Indians the mysteries of Redemption and instructing them in industrial pursuits.

The list of names of the great missionaries would be incomplete were not the name of Fr. Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, O. P., mentioned. He was the peer of all, of the best and most memorable, in deeds and virtues which brightened his pathway. Much information is gleaned from his Memoirs, consisting of three parts designated as Books 1, 2 and 3, a simple narrative of work as missionary in this part of Michigan and the middle Northwest Territory. These Memoirs, written in 1830-34, were published in Milan, Italy, in 1840 and translated into English by Sr. Mary Benedicta Kennedy, St. Clair Convent, at Sinsinawa, Wis., in 1914, and the translation was published in Chicago in 1915; in the translator's preface she says that even at the risk of grave injustice to the original, and to avoid the yet greater risk of falsely coloring, ever so

faintly, even one word representing the soul of this true type of modern apostles of the nineteenth century, this rendering of this book into English has been left, with all its peculiarities of construction, as closely parallel to the original as translation permits.

In the latter part of the 17th century a mission was established by the Jesuit Fathers at L'Arbre Croche, the most densely populated of all the missions. The exact date of establishing the mission I am unable to determine; however, we have it of record that during the year 1695 the Franciscan missionaries traversed this region and visited the L'Arbre Croche Mission,—this record is now at Mackinac.

There has been considerable speculation as to just where this mission was established. In his *Memoirs* Fr. Mazzuchelli indicates upon a map of Michigan, Middle Village as the site of Old L'Arbre Croche, and Harbor Springs as New L'Arbre Croche; and, referring to L'Arbre Croche, he says that this mission consisted of four or five churches, the largest of which is that of Fr. Baraga's; and again referring to the location says, that this is not now the home of Fr. Baraga, which is 25 miles distant, where may yet be seen on the surface of the soil the marks of the ploughshare where the trees are noticeably smaller than those surrounding the once cultivated space.

In December, 1831, Fr. Mazzuchelli made a visit to L'Arbre Croche, making the journey from Mackinac Island in a bark canoe accompanied by ten Indians. Crossing the Straits and following the winding curves of the lake shore they arrived at New L'Arbre Croche the evening of the second day. Immediately upon arrival his attention was drawn to several Indians who were in the act of throwing a barrel into the lake, while another party of Indians were breaking up an-

other barrel in the middle of the village street. On asking the reason of this proceeding he was informed that one of the traders had brought two barrels of brandy, which was an offense against the laws of the villagers; the Ottawa Chief had ordered one of the barrels to be thrown into the lake and the other to be smashed up, and as a sign of contempt to be spilled into the street. Religion alone had the power to teach these simple-minded children of nature the hard lesson of fleeing the occasion of sin, and he adds that their behavior on this occasion might well form an example to be followed by many educated Christians.

When Fr. Baraga was about to leave L'Arbre Croche in 1833 his place was temporarily filled for two years by Rev. Simon Saendrel, with three Lay Brothers to attend to the spiritual affairs of the Indians in the various stations established by Fr. Baraga. He again had charge of the Indians on Little Traverse Bay from 1836 to 1839.

The following named priests were successively established at this mission: Rev. Francis Pierz, 1839 to 1852; Rev. A. Van Paemel, 1852 to 1855; Rev. I. G. Steinhauser, 1855 to 1856; Rev. Lawrence Lautishar, 1856 to 1858; Rev. Louis Sifferath, 1858 to 1862; Rev. P. S. Zorn, 1862 to 1884.

On the 4th day of September, 1884, Rev. Servatius Altmicks and Rev. Pius Nierman of the Franciscan Fathers, and Brother Arnold Wilms, arrived to take up the work in and around Harbor Springs, where previous to their advent such zealous priests as the above labored amid great difficulties and personal sacrifices. For nine full years Father Servatius Altmicks, a strict religious, as well as a zealous missionary and distinguished theologian, employed all his talents and ripe experience to the building up of the parish in spiritual

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and material lines. In the year 1892, assisted by his friends and acquaintances, he was enabled to replace the old Church, hitherto referred to as that of Fr. Baraga's, by the present modest but suitable structure.

After laboring for a year among the Indians the Fathers found ways and means of inaugurating a parish school, over which Bro. Novatus Dierkens, O. F. M., presided alone, until November, 1896, when the School Sisters of Notre Dame arrived and took charge of the new school erected that year. Brother Novatus remained in charge of the larger boys until 1896, when he was transferred to Kenosha, Wis., and soon after to St. Francis College, Quincy, Ill. In 1868 this school was placed on the list of the Catholic Institutions receiving Government aid. In 1900 this contract was annulled, and since that time the work is entirely dependent on the charity of the public.

On account of failing health, toward the close of 1892, Fr. Servatius Altmicks was relieved of the position in which he so zealously labored, and was succeeded by Rev. Norbet Wilhelm, O. F. M., who for five years had been in charge of the Petoskey Parish. While he continued to exert himself to perfect and to place upon a firm basis the work of his predecessors, he exhibited his practical turn of mind in putting down a sewer system, by which all the waters of a creek that meandered at that time through the school lot were diverted and thus much valuable ground obtained for future improvement and the start made for the sewer system of the village.

In August, 1894, Rev. Fr. Englehardt arrived in Harbor Springs to succeed Fr. Norbett. He remained for six years. While he was superior of the Harbor Springs Mission, there was established a residence for the Friars in the city of Petos-

key, from which place the Indians on Grand Traverse Bay and in Oceana County, whose care the Franciscan Fathers assumed in January, 1895, were attended by Rev. Bruno Torka, now Superior of the Franciscan Residence of the Order of Friars Minor of Petoskey.

Father Norbett was again returned to Harbor Springs Mission, and remained for two years; he was succeeded by Rev. Damases Erkins, who is at this time in charge of the affairs of the Mission. Under his guiding influence many improvements have been made. Most worthy of mention is the \$30,000 three-story brick addition to the school buildings, with an enrollment of 265 pupils attending.

The early history of the Catholic Mission at the present Harbor Springs prior to 1831 is very obscure. There are few data. That Catholic Missionaries had been there is fully substantiated. Prior to 1831 Father DeJean labored zealously, and had a school; the total attendance on December 28, 1829, was 63, of whom 38 were boys and 25 were girls. How many years the school was opened before this is now a matter of conjecture. Rev. J. Vincent Badin, 1824 to 1827, visited at intervals.

That the school was situated at the present village of Harbor Springs is borne out by the fact that the missionary in affixing the date gives the name Villa-Neuve at L'Arbre Croche, which according to an old map in the "Life of Father Mazzuchelli" is given as situated on Little Traverse Bay on the present village site of Harbor Springs.

That baptisms and the other sacraments of the Catholic Church were administered earlier, the present records of the Church do not show. The records, which are carefully preserved, show the first acts of Father Baraga, who labored here from 1831 to 1833; also those of Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati. Earlier records were taken to Mackinac Island and, tradition says, were later taken to Marquette, where they are now in the Bishop's Library.

That Catholic missionaries had been much earlier here is borne out by another fact. The "Indians Ottawas" sent a petition to the Great Father at Washington, petitioning on August 12, 1823, that there should be sent "a master or minister of the Gospel belonging to the same society as the members of the Catholic Society of St. Ignatius, formerly established at Michilimackinac and L'Arbre Croche by Father Marquette and other missionaries of the order of the Jesuits. They resided long among us. They cultivated a field on our territory to teach us the principles of agriculture and Christianity.

. . . . If you grant us similar ministers we will invite them to live on the same ground formerly occupied by Father Du Jaunay, on the banks of Lake Michigan, near our Village of L'Arbre Croche." The words just quoted are found in Shea's History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States. Father Peter Du Jaunay was stationed at Mackinac till about 1765.

THE MICHIGAN AUDUBON SOCIETY

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By Mrs. Edith C. Munger, President Habt

THE people who think that the Audubon movement is the outgrowth of mere sentimentalism will be interested to learn that it really had its origin in the American Ornithological Union, a body of men organized to study birds from a purely scientific viewpoint. A committee from this body was appointed to investigate the economic value of our birds and these practical scientists soon discovered that the continued destruction of our bird life was going to mean a tremendous financial loss to our country. They therefore organized the first Audubon Society for bird protection and preservation, not so much for the sake of the birds as for the good of mankind. In this same way, out of our Michigan Ornithological Club evolved the Michigan Audubon Society.

The first meeting for organization was called in Detroit, February 27, 1904, and at the subsequent meetings held during the year the society became fully organized. The officers elected were: president, Hon. Thomas W. Palmer; secretary-treasurer, Jefferson Butler; vice-presidents, Hon. Peter White of Marquette, President James B. Angell of Ann Arbor, Hon. Louis M. Jones of Ypsilanti, and Hon. Chase S. Osborn of Sault Ste. Marie.

Since then the following persons have also served as vicepresidents: Hon. W. B. Mershon of Saginaw, Mrs. Geo. Gunderson of Ionia, Prof. Charles C. Adams of Ann Arbor, Wm. Aiken, Jr., of Detroit, Hon. Charles Freer of Detroit, Miss Clara E. Dyar of Grosse Pointe, Hon. Whitney Watkins of Manchester, Prof. Elbert H. Downing of Marquette, and Mrs. R. A. Newman, Detroit.

The first executive committee consisted of the Hon. Thos. W. Palmer, Prof. Charles C. Adams, Hon. Peter White, Miss Clara E. Dyar, A. W. Blaine, Jr., Bryant Walker, and Jefferson Butler.

An advisory committee of ornithologists seeming necessary to carry on the work successfully, such a council was established, consisting of Prof. Barrows of the Michigan Agricultural College, Prof. Wood of Detroit, and Alex W. Blaine of Detroit, with Bryant Walker for legal advisor.

After the death of Thomas W. Palmer, Jefferson Butler succeeded to the presidency, and many prominent people have acted on its advisory and executive committees since then.

The annual meetings were nearly always held in conjunction with the State Humane Society for mutual support, as the work was similar. The Society got into communication with the Game Warden Department as soon as possible, hoping to secure the immediate enforcement of the laws for bird protection, but the work was all so new and public opinion needed so much educating that the results were not very satisfactory the first few years. Boys and men who had always shot song birds as well as game birds for food or for feathers or just for fun did not see why they could not keep on shooting them if they chose. When violators of the laws pertaining to bird protection were prosecuted it was almost impossible to secure a conviction no matter how flagrant the offense, because of a lack of sentiment for bird protection.

From the beginning the Audubon workers realized that theirs was a labor of education, and since grown-ups are not easily influenced to change their habits of thought and living, the greatest hope of the organization lay in reaching the children through the schools. Most satisfactory results have been obtained in this way, since all children are naturally lovers of the outdoor world.

During the first three years of the organization about 20,000 educational leaflets from the National Audubon Society, the Biological Survey and other sources, were distributed throughout the State. Notices of the game laws pertaining to bird protection were posted where their violation had been most flagrant and persistent.

Many lectures were also given by the well-known ornithologists William Dutcher of New York, Rev. William Lord of Mass., Prof. Barrows of the Michigan Agricultural College, William Finley (editor of *The Condor*), Prof. Norman Wood of the University of Michigan Museum, and Mr. Jefferson Butler. The Biological Survey was of great service in supplying the society with thousands of their excellent bulletins dealing with the economic value of our birds.

At the time the Michigan Audubon Society was organized, all over our State the scarlet tanagers, indigo buntings, gold-finches, Baltimore orioles and many others of our most gorgeously beautiful birds were killed by thousands each year and sold for millinery purposes. This sort of work proved most conclusively that the women of our State also needed educating. Collectors of birds' eggs carried on a thriving business unmolested, especially along the lake shores, rivers and on the islands where the water birds nested in great numbers. In fact all over our country bird destruction was being carried on so extensively and ruthlessly that Dr. Hornaday of the New York Museum, who estimated that sixty per cent of our

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birds were destroyed in the period from 1885 to 1900, said, that unless we called a halt we would soon be a birdless land. The time was indeed ripe for action when the Michigan Audubon Society organized its campaign for bird protection.

All honor to those early Audubon workers who found, as pioneers in all new movements always do, that they who blaze the way, and clear the path have much in the way of prejudice and indifference to overcome; but they were true pioneers, holding fast to all things gained and looking forward into the future for still greater results.

From the date of its organization in 1904 up to 1908 the work of the Audubon Society had been chiefly along the line of attempted cooperation with the Game Warden Department and educational work in the schools. During 1908 the society joined forces with the Michigan Sportsmen's Association for better protection of game birds and began to agitate against spring shooting. In October of that year Mrs. Munger introduced a resolution at the annual meeting of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs at Traverse City asking the members to pledge themselves to wear no more bird feathers except ostrich plumes and feathers of domestic fowls, and to create an Audubon department in the Federation. The resolution was adopted, and though it took a year or more to get the department thoroughly organized and working, it is now one of the strong ones of the organization, and women's clubs all over the State are doing efficient work for bird protection.

In 1909 good educational work was done by Mr. Butler and Prof. Barrows, both of whom gave many lectures on bird life in various parts of the State. Game Warden Pierce gave the work an impetus by cooperating with the society in the enforcement of the game laws, and his department with the Audubonists joined in endorsing a bill against spring shooting and in asking for a hunter's license law. There was so much opposition to both bills that the one against spring shooting was modified so as to allow shooting for a shortened period and thus passed the House, but was stranded in the Senate. The hunter's license bill failed entirely of passage, but one protecting Bob White until 1914 and permanently protecting the Prairie Chicken was passed.

Much literature was distributed that winter and interest aroused among school children by offering fifty prizes for the best essays on birds. In April, 1910, Mr. Butler was elected to the presidency of the society to succeed Mr. Palmer, and faithfully and conscientiously performed the duties of the office until the day of his tragically sudden death in October, 1913.

Mr. Butler was especially active during 1911, giving twenty-seven lectures among schools, clubs, granges, churches and other organizations. Through the generosity of Mr. Henry Ford of Detroit he was able to furnish attractive bird bulletins to more than 300 schools and to give much time to bird study on the Ford Farm, which was being established as one of the largest and finest bird reserves in the world. More than 500 nesting boxes and many food and shelter devices were placed, and a large amount of planting for the birds was done. Mr. Butler also made careful records of the number and kinds of birds nesting on the Farm, and of the species that remained all winter.

Much publicity was given the work of the society that winter by Miss Clara Bates of Traverse City, Mrs. Belle M. Perry of Charlotte, Mrs. Grace Greenwood Browne of Harbor Beach, Mr. John Watkins of Calumet, Miss Margaret Kelley of Muskegon, and Mrs. Edith Munger of Hart, all of whom wrote articles calling attention to the work of the organization and the need of protecting and feeding the birds, especially during the cold and stormy weather. The secretary Mrs. Anna Walter also wrote and spoke for bird protection.

The society held its annual meeting for 1912 in Traverse City in conjunction with the State Humane Society, and opened its first real headquarters in Mr. Butler's office in Detroit that fall.

Governor Osborn appointed Mr. Butler State Humane Marshal that year, that he might better assist in the enforcement of the laws for bird and game protection.

The Hon. W. B. Mershon pleased and interested the school children by advertising broadcast throughout the State in all the papers "Mershon Medals for School Kids." There were seven groups of medals offered, not only for the best essays on the habits and economic values of the birds, but also prizes for personal experiences in feeding, housing, protecting and photographing them.

In 1913 Mr. Butler was instrumental in framing two most important bills. The "Scott Humane Bill" providing for a certain amount of humane teaching in all grades of our schools each week, and the "Egret Bill," which prohibits the sale or purchase of egret plumage in our State. The very last piece of work which he was permitted to finish was the revision of the "Humane and Anti-Cruelty Laws of Michigan." This was a fitting climax to a life for so many years unselfishly devoted to the humane work of our State.

The officers at this time were Mr. Jefferson Butler, president; Mrs. Edith C. Munger, vice-president; Miss Clara Bates,

second vice-president; Mrs. Anna Walter, secretary; Mr. Paul M. Morgan, assistant secretary; Prof. W. N. Ferris, Hon. Chase S. Osborn, Hon. W. B. Mershon, Prof. W. B. Barrows, Hon. Whitney Watkins, Miss Margaret Kelley, Mrs. R. Adlington Newman, Mr. Wilbur Brotherton, Mrs. Belle M. Perry and Mrs. A. W. Peck, board of directors.

At Mr. Butler's death Mrs. Munger became acting president until the next annual meeting. Wishing to get into touch with the national work, Mrs. Munger attended the National Conservation Congress in Washington, D. C., in November, 1913, representing both Michigan Audubon Society and the State Federation of Women's Clubs, and also representing these same bodies at the Biennial in Chicago in June, 1914. During the year the president gave 36 lectures to audiences numbering about 3,700 persons and consisting of all sorts and conditions of people showing a wide diversity of interest. In order especially to interest the teachers, Mrs. Munger asked the Department of Public Instruction to change "Arbor Day" to "Arbor and Bird Day," and this was done, with the proviso that she should furnish the bird material for the bulletin. The Public Domain Commission, the State Public Library and the Game Warden Department were all visited, and promised support to the work of the society, which promise they have most faithfully kept.

The annual meeting for 1914 was held in Grand Rapids at the Ryerson Library in September, with an excellent program and a good attendance. In her report the president made the following recommendations:

- 1. Because of its great economic value, the permanent removal of Bob White from the game list.
 - 2. Because of the wanton destruction of other bird life as

a result of its enforcement and the demoralizing effect it has on the boys of our State, the repeal of the English Sparrow bounty.

Because they are known to be so destructive to bird life, the licensing of all cats with owners, and the humane killing of all stray cats.

These recommendations were thoroughly discussed, and all adopted. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year after some changes in the constitution and by-laws were made: Mrs. Edith C. Munger, president; Mr. Charles K. Hoyt, vice-president; Miss Gertrude Reading, secretary-treasurer; Mr. W. B. Mershon, Mr. H. E. Sargent, and Mr. Charles M. Greenway, members of the executive committee, which also includes the president and vice-president as ex-officio members.

It was decided by the executive committee to modify our Michigan game laws in a way to make them conform to the "Migratory Bird Law," to make every effort to secure a cat license law, and to try to secure the cooperation of all the large State organizations by getting them to endorse the work of the society. They also planned to ask the newspapers for aid in publicity.

In January, 1916, the president met with an accident, the results of which were sufficiently serious to confine her to her couch the greater part of the next four months. Nothing daunted, however, she went to the annual Audubon meeting in Grand Rapids, on crutches, and also to the Wild Life Conservation Show at Saginaw in February; and the handicap did not prevent her waging a very active campaign by correspondence for an increased membership which resulted in about trebling it.

In response to an invitation from a generous Audubon member of the Audubon Society, Mrs. A. S. Putman, of Manistique, the president went to the Upper Peninsula in June and gave a series of about twenty lectures at the Normal School and in and around Manistique and Marquette. This work was of special interest as it was the first done by the society for the country above the Straits.

Feeling keenly the need of some periodical through which to disseminate its doctrines of bird protection, the organization was glad to have its president accept the offer tendered by the editor of the *Michigan Sportsman* to have her establish and edit regularly an Audubon Department in his magazine. Thus in a sense did the *Michigan Sportsman* become the official organ of the Michigan Audubon Society.

In October of that year our Society was for the first time represented at the annual meeting of the National Association of Audubon Societies, held in New York City.

By invitation of the Battle Creek Chamber of Commerce the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the society was held in that city in February, 1917. Excellent reports of activities in all parts of the State were given and an especially good one from the local schools, which are undoubtedly doing the most efficient work for bird protection of any schools in the State. Much discussion followed the reading of all reports and particular attention was given to the question of the cat in relation to bird life. The concensus of opinion of all present was that the State should have a cat license law. Grand Rapids has already passed such an ordinance, the enforcement of which is ridding that city of thousands of useless felines. In the president's address she emphasized the necessity of raising funds with which to hire field workers and

equip them with slides, charts and other educational paraphernalia. In the evening "The Spirit of Audubon Film" was shown to a large and delighted audience.

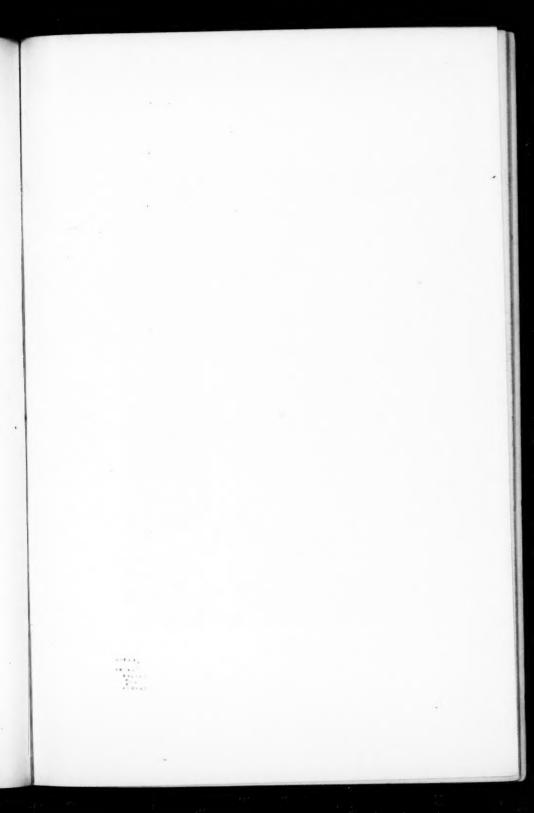
Very constructive educational work was done during the year by the placing of Audubon charts in about two hundred schools and in furnishing plans and outlines of work with which to study bird life. Special attention was given to helping the rural teachers.

When America entered the war against Germany in April and the Michigan Division of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense was formed, the Audubon president was made Chairman of its Wild Life Conservation Department, and much publicity is constantly being given bird protection work through this channel which is broad enough to reach out into every organized body of women. In this way people who have never thought of our birds as an economic asset are shown that since food conservation is the world's greatest problem today and birds are our natural food conservers their protection becomes a vital war measure.

Each year adds rapidly to the list of schools, clubs and other groups that are holding highly educational as well as beautiful exhibits of bird houses and feeding devices. In connection with these they are asking that practical cat guards shall form a prominent feature of such exhibits. This is necessary in order to educate the general public as to the dreadful depredations committed by cats against nesting birds and to show people simple ways and means of safeguarding the nests and bird houses from this most deadly enemy of all bird life.

The Michigan Legislature of 1917 took a backward step when it passed a law offering a bounty on all hawks and owls, for according to the reports of the Biological Survey (which are the results of the examination, by experts, of the contents of thousands of stomachs of all kinds of birds) all but three kinds of hawks and all but one kind of owl catch very few birds or chickens. Instead, each hawk or owl does destroy every year about a thousand rodents or small mammals which are very destructive to our field crops. Pennsylvania passed a similar law in 1885, but repealed it within the next two years because it was found to be so disastrous to the agricultural interests of the State. The three things that our Legislature should do for the conservation of the State's resources are: repeal this harmful law about hawks and owls, permanently remove Bob White from the game list, and pass a cat license law.

Bird lovers are watching Congress anxiously this spring to see whether the Enabling Act, which has passed the Senate, will also pass the House. This Act is of the utmost importance, since it is meant to give force and power to the Migratory Bird Treaty Law of 1913, which with the Act will be the greatest force for bird conservation the world has ever known, but which without it will lose a large part of its efficiency.





SUPT, F. E. KING OF ESCANABA'S SCHOOLS, GENERAL DIRECTOR OF THE PAGEANT

THE PAGEANT OF ESCANABA AND CORRELATED LOCAL HISTORY¹

By F. E. KING
SUPT. OF SCHOOLS, ESCANABA

PAGEANTRY is expression,—a visible manifestation of the community soul,—and not simply an exhibition. Such expression is that part of man which lives after him and binds him to the great mass of humanity. Modern pageantry aims to increase the world's store of happiness by interpreting the meaning of human life and bringing art and beauty into the minds of all the people. It serves as a measure of the forward movement of any community, and by comparison with vanished days, it keeps the conscience alive and compels attention to the higher ideals of today.

Ye who would learn the glory of the past And form a forecast of the things to be, Give heed to this, a city's trumpet blast, And see her pictured life in pageantry.

The Pageant of Escanaba is a patriotic, idealized community epic history, conceived and prepared by the Escanaba Public Schools and presented dramatically and simply in the sunshine and on the greensward of Ludington Park and the blue waters of Bay de Nocquet.

Pageantry may be considered as one of the fine arts. It promotes efficiency in the same sense as the schoolhouse does, teaching something that everyone ought to know. Knowledge

An address delivered at the Michigan State Teachers' Association at Grand Rapids, Nov. 2, 1917.

is not spread by books alone. The art of communication assumes many forms. A pageant is a municipal invigorant. Through it a community takes account of itself, comprehends itself more fully, can better build ideas. The pageant is also the nursery of patriotism. Always it encourages a love of home and pride in local history and traditions. The pageant exalts the factors of business, and embalms the record of man's progress from darkness to light.

From the sociological standpoint, the salutary influence of the pageant gives a cohesiveness to community life. Humanity is touched at many points. It tends to fuse racial elements. Its influence is toward the center, against all forces tending to pull apart. It cements the sympathies by which communities have advanced from semi-barbaric state to modern civilization and its refined influence.

Likewise, a pageant is a moral agent. It exalts labor and industry, perseverance, self-sacrifice, education and similar virtues. Local pride is stirred; it makes the whole neighborhood, for a day at least, spruce up and put on its best behavior. It is a constructive, progressive factor which kindles a new fire on the community hearth. Because it is cosmopolitan, broad and tolerant, it leaves a glow of pleasure that something has been done worth while and that its helpful influence will last.

The American people are becoming more and more conscious of broadening and deepening movements in their national life. The building of Panama Canals, development of marvelous railway systems, invention of electrical devices, improvement of sanitary conditions and the building of vast fortunes cannot evolve and develop the finer and more subtle modes of human action. Every child longs to act and to be like the

great historic characters of whom he has read. The spiritual forces demand embodiment.

The pageant is the best form of dramatic action because it feeds this real and vital need of human nature. The pageant is an educating force, not only to the child-actor but to the fathers and mothers also, blending together the many warring and hostile elements into one mass, all moving impressively toward the desired consummation, a visible and tangible expression of a vital community-life.

The pageant is far superior to all indoor forms of dramatic activity because it leads us away from the artificial stage with painted scenery, distorted imagination, and the glare of the footlights. The reality of the Great Out-doors under God's blue sky, under real trees, where everybody can see such scenes as Father Marquette and his party coming slowly over the water under the French flag with the white sails leading the way. Coming from their sail-boats in canoes, singing as they come, with dignity he meets the wild Indian chiefs, who come down to the shore to greet him, then solemnly plants the Cross in the midst of the Indian village, while the beautiful strains of the Te Deum fill the air and drift over the water.

The best life of the historic past should reveal itself not only in stone and marble monuments, or in manuscript. Better still the pageant, a living reproduction of flesh and blood may show us scenes and historic events belonging to a world dead and gone. Acting in such scenes the children of today may well be made to feel and live the noblest personalities of an earlier generation with their rich experiences and untiring energies.

The supreme purpose of pageantry should always be to

teach loyalty not only to the General Government, but also to State and local authorities; to school and home and the higher and nobler aspirations inherent in each human soul. Never before in the world's history was there such a crying need for the cultivation of true patriotism. Every day's news shows this need, and the Public Schools must by heroic endeavor make loyal Americans who will give their lives if need be for the principles of Democracy, that government of all the people, for all the people, by all the people shall not perish, but shall extend to all nations through the influence of our own loved America.

Yet, I doubt not through the ages an increasing purpose runs, And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns. -Tennyson

CORRELATED LOCAL HISTORY

Although pioneer days are comparatively near to our own home and generation, yet much that is valuable is rapidly disappearing in the onward sweep of the rushing flood of our resistless modern life. We owe it to ourselves and to the future to pause and look back occasionally to the inspiring deeds of heroic ancestors and to preserve what we may find as evidence that they served well their generation. That is what history is for.

If the history of Egypt and Babylonia and Rome and Greece are important and should be taught in the Public Schools, why is the history of that part of the work with which we are in daily contact of less importance?

We are too prone to believe that things local are unimportant. As Russell H. Conwell proved in his great lecture, there are "Acres of Diamonds" all about us. Much of genuine

historic interest will be uncovered by those who have a will to work in local fields.

The Pageant of Escanaba proved not the less interesting because it tabooed fiction. Much time and care was taken to verify every fact presented. Notice that the Prologue states that the wonderful harbor of Escanaba was formed by "Nature's magic." It is a fact that though the largest boats on the Great Lakes have never had the least difficulty in approaching Escanaba's docks, the United States Government has never spent a dollar in improvement of the harbor here.

That Escanaba is truly a Melting Pot for making Americans from many nationalities is shown by the fact that French, Swedish, Austrian, German, Russian, Japanese, Italian, Irish, Poles, Norwegian, Danish, Scotch, Dutch, Belgian, Hungarian and Finns are now living in Escanaba and many different languages are daily heard on our streets.

By adapting the general plan to local conditions, any community can give such a Pageant. But it must be understood that such a Pageant should take many weeks of preparation. Two years before its presentation, the Escanaba schools began to give especial attention to local history. Pupils of classes in English were given assignments in groups:

- 1. To make thorough research of records;
- 2. To gather and study local maps and pictures;
- 3. To interview early settlers still living;
- 4. To make trips to local industries;
- To gather statistics of value, from the city library, from government and State records, and from other reliable sources;
- 6. To take kodak views of industries visited and of other scenes:

To prepare theses on special topics of local history based on facts gathered.

This work, because of the time taken, in no way interfered with regular school duties, but aided in language and composition work because of its special interest. The best thesis prepared on each topic was preserved, placed on exhibit at the Northern State Fair, and later aided very materially in the production of the Pageant.

Though all the teachers, as well as city officials and citizens in general helped in every possible way, especial credit is due Miss E. M. Griffith, head of the English Department, Miss Frances Ryan of the Music Department, and Miss Marie Snyder of the Physical Training Department for their efficient assistance.

The Pageant of Escanaba was not at any time a scheme to make money. It never had entertainment with glitter and tinsel show as the purpose of its existence. It was firmly believed that Pageantry, like history, should have eternal Truth for its foundation and be builded with earnestness and sincerity. That these facts helped and in no way hindered its success was abundantly evident at the time. The daily newspaper reporter who witnessed the scene said:

"The presentation was a climax worthy to crown months of patient and untiring labor on the part of children and promoters. From the Prologue, in ringing tetrameter, delivered by Mark Bailey in the character of the Herald, to the singing of "Michigan, My Michigan" and "The Star Spangled Banner" by the twenty-five hundred children forming a great human flag, the Pageant was more than a spectacle impressive by mere numbers and hugeness,—it was an epitome of the

birth and growth of Cloverland's metropolis, inspiring watchers and performers alike.

"No more beautiful scene could be imagined than that presented by the portion of Ludington Park which was devoted to the Pageant today. From Michigan Avenue, high above the park, a bank solidly lined with humanity sloped down to the level portion of the park where side walls of evergreen trees from the woods walled off a large grassy space with a gentle slope to the Bay, which formed the background for a huge allegory of costuming, presenting every factor that has contributed to Escanaba's growth, from the Indians who formerly ruled Sand Point, and the missionary pioneers who were the first comers from the East, through pioneer and lumbering days to the combination of nationalities which were amalgamated in Escanaba's 'melting pot,' to form the present-day city.

"Long before the time set for the beginning of the pageant, all roads in Escanaba led to Ludington Park. Automobiles honked their way through the crowds which poured on foot by every intersecting street to the bay shore, and when the Prologue started the big spectacle, every available foot of space about the great outdoor stage was packed with a mass of humanity, more than ten thousand spectators, all of whom watched and listened in rapt attention throughout the afternoon."

A knowledge of the plan and purpose of this Pageant came to the State Historical Commission because the State Historical Society's meeting was held in Escanaba the same year. At the suggestion of a member of the State Commission, the writer was asked to present this topic at the recent State Teachers' Association. This article is written for the Michi-

gan History Magazine at the request of its editor. If such publicity shall aid in securing for every school in Michigan more attention to local and State history, the author's purpose in its preparation will have been achieved.

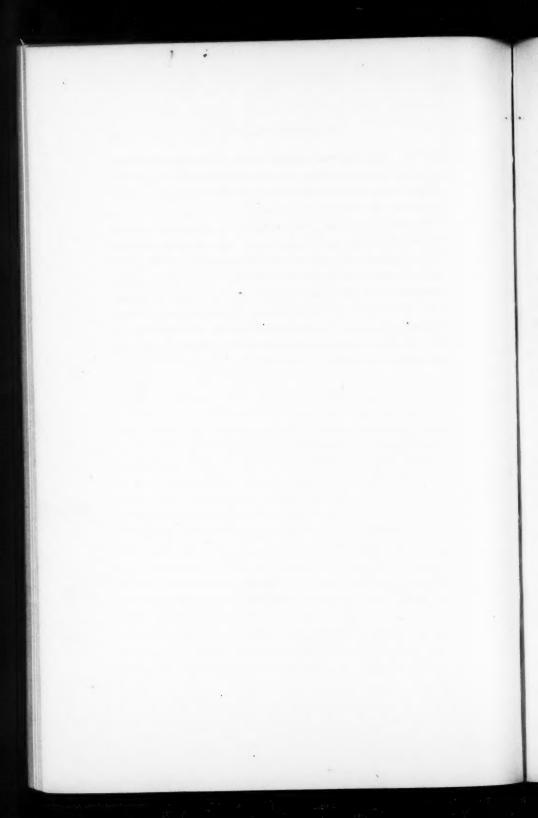
If, as all modern authorities agree, geography of foreign countries and the world in general can best be taught by first giving children proper concepts through teaching local geography, why is it not pedagogically wise and necessary to teach local history, as the logical and essential preparation for any pupil to become interested in and always a student of State, National and world-wide history? Does any progressive modern educator believe that local history cannot be made more profitable than much of the ancient and medieval history taught now in all schools?

Is it not a grand truth that all children should be taught to know that their home, their city or town, their people, the people whom they daily meet, yes, even they themselves, have had or should have some part in the making of history. How can we better teach that much-needed lesson for the American youth of today, namely, proper respect for the aged, than by sending them to interview a pioneer who had some part in the making of the early history of their home city?

From the history of my own home I have learned many facts. This one, which has been of considerable help to me in my profession, I learned in watching my own children. As each came to a certain age, all either crept or rolled for days and weeks after it could have stood erect and walked, if it had only known it could.

Let some Master-of-Industry tell a group of youth how he has seen great factories grow from humble beginnings, and perhaps because these youth have seen and talked with the men who have done such things they may more quickly come to believe in the boundless possibilities lying within the reach of their own God-given ability. Truly, this would be a consummation devotedly to be wished.

The Pageant of Escanaba can readily be adapted to almost any local condition in Michigan. It honors the pioneer, exalts labor, welcomes all nations, changes the spirit of "Wanderlust," Poverty, and Oppression into the spirit of Content, Prosperity, and Freedom, and enthrones the spirit of Education. Finally, in its last synthesis, all nationalities are led by Uncle Sam and the Goddess of Liberty into one human flag, united as *True Americans*, becoming stars and stripes, each individual a part of "Old Glory."



THE PAGEANT OF ESCANABA

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ESCANABA

And Here Stood

THE PAST

Forests of
Tall White Pine
Through Winters Cold. Amid
the Primeval Silence the
Waters of Michiganing

Lapped These Shores. The

PINES

S Chippewa, the Treacherous
Menominee of the Algonquin
Tribe Here Waged Incessant
Deadly Warfare; While Wolves and Bear
and Deer Made it Their Home. When
the Canadian Voyageur, Nicolet, in
1634, Visited These Regions, He Called the
Wild Men Dwelling Here "Tribe de Noquet"
for Their Totem Was the Bear or "Noke."
And These Indians or "Puans" Fished in the

Their Manitou Was Pleased with the Offer-

Waters of Our Bay.

DEER

ing of Wild Rice; and the Lights of their Camp-fires Glowed Along This Shore.

RED MEN

"So he journeyed westward, westward,
Left the fleetest deer behind him;
Left the antelope and bison;
Crossed the RUSHING ESCANABA."

Hiawatha-Longfellow.

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ESCANABA—THE PAST

1634-1830

But in time, the "Black Robes" came bearing their message of hope,

At St. Martin's Island, in 1673, Father Marquette paused, with Joliet, to establish a mission,

While in 1670, Father Allouez had passed through Death's Door to La Baye,

And had threaded the islands which you see to the eastward.

Long were the days. In the spring the Mayflowers bloomed unseen.

The wild geese moved across the autumn sky.

An icy path linked shore to shore. Then distant Montreal

Sent forth her coureurs de bois to trade for fur,

And her brave sons to win a world for France.

Westward from Michilimackinac, in 1679, came Chevalier La Salle

And cast the anchor on those islands at the entrance to Green Bay

Which we can see on summer days, against the evening sky. And there his friend, heroic Hennepin, smoked the calumet

With the brave Pottawattamie of La Baye des Puans.

While for Charlevoix the air rang with the wild cries of the scalp-dance,

As he paused, in 1721, on his course through the waters of Green Bay.

In the great world outside the strife of kings went on.

England and France contended for the Western World.

But here the Puans drew forth the mighty sturgeon to his death.

The Bourbon Kings of France mounted the scaffold, While Washington proclaimed the liberty of man. But here the wild life of the woods flourished and died, And the long days passed slowly, moon by moon. On Sand Point the great chief, Otchipwe, gathered his braves About him in war-dance or by council-fire, Till, one by one, the Noquette tribe lay down to rest In shallow graves, in Indian style, along this very shore.

THE INTERLUDE

"The law of life
For atom and for man
Is change.
The Spirit's strife
Is this—to symbolize its plan
By something new and strange.
Life moves from form to form."
The Manitou so spake
Of Gitche Gumee's barren shore.

"Awake! The time is here.

The Red man shall be lord no more
Of sunshine and of storm,
Of forest and of flood.

Awake in fear;
The time is here.
Behold the Pale-face
With his conquering race,
His Cross triumphant and his mystic lore,
Enters upon his long career
As Master of the Western World."
The Manitou so spake.

"Awake!"

ESCANABA'S PROGRESS 1830-1916

"Yet I doubt not through the ages an increasing purpose runs,

And the thoughts of man are widen'd with the process of the suns."

—Tennyson.

ESCANABA Signifies in the Chippewa dialect

The bed of the Escanaba river is covered with these stones flat and smooth.

Before 1800, there were no settlements along this shore, Simply the birch-tree and black oak and maple, Or, perhaps, a solitary Indian fisherman.

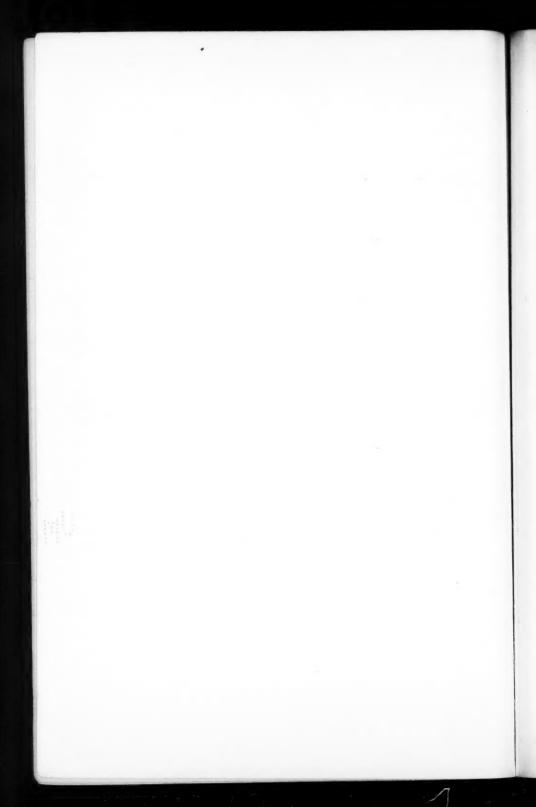
But in 1830, some white men drifted into Flat Rock,
And they built a saw-mill there.
So the forests of scrub-pine fell before the ax,
And our great lumbering industry was begun.
Sinclair and Ludington, in 1852, began cutting logs here;
"Sand Point" they called the place jutting out
Into the waters of Bay de Noquette
Which in the Indian tongue is "Weyohquatonk."

The first house, a log one, faced the Ludington hotel; It was built in '52, and Mr. E. P. Royce in 1854

Found a hamlet of three houses. This first log house Was torn down in 1863 to make way for the great docks. How interesting, as a relic, it would be to us now!



The seven talented high school girls who wrote the Pageant Prologue and most of the spoken parts. Top row, left to right—Helen Reade, Louise Northrup, Isabel Winegar, Marguerite Corcoran. Lower row, left to right—Majorie King, Alda Robb, Hazel Shaw.



But the little hamlet grew to a village of four hundred people; And in 1866 it was incorporated.

In 1864, the Northwestern had built their line to Negaunee, And in the same year ore-dock No. 1 arose.

That was the year, too, we were granted a postoffice.

The first ore shipped from the port of Escanaba

Was sent out in 1865—about 31,000 tons!

The first Christian service was held by Father Keenan in 1863; And the next summer good Father Dale from a pulpit of sand Preached in the open air down by the bay shore.

A Miss Dunbar opened the first school in 1866;

While the Government built our light-house the following spring.

In 1867 a fire company was organized,
And the *Tribune*, the first paper, appeared in 1869.

We reached the world outside by a slow-moving stage to Menominee,

Till, in 1872, the Northwestern put their line through to Green Bay,

So we "went below" or "outside" at our pleasure.

Even in 1871 there were only three steamers on the lake;

All the rest were old-time sailing vessels.

They tell us that where our modern High School
Now stands was then a famous hunting ground
For the vast flocks of wild pigeons
That fairly darkened the sky!
And that the dread forest fires built a red wall around;
While dense clouds of smoke shut out the sun from view;

And that in spring, the lumber jack in his gay mackinaws

Brought to our town the life, crude and wild, Of the primitive Canadian lumber camp.

But why pause longer to trace the growth of our city? IT WAS BOUND TO GROW,

To become the present metropolis of Cloverland. It is now the county seat of Delta County. It has a population of 15,000 souls—or noses!

Look at our fourteen churches

Piercing the sky with their steeples.

Look at our twelve flourishing manufacturing plants.

Look at our four live newspapers.

Look at our tasteful public buildings-

The Court House, the City Hall, the Carnegie Library,

The Post Office, our Banks, our Hotels, our Hospitals, Our Opera Houses!

Of our Schools, eight in number, we are justly proud; And of our beautiful Park along the shore on summer days; And of our cozy homes, nestled among shady trees.

Then, too, our Railroads carry us east and west, north and south.

The Northwestern alone has six huge docks, electric-lighted, With a capacity of 95,000 tons.

Thirty vessels can load there at one time.

Our coal docks are among the largest on the lake.

Our Electric Traction System is unsurpassed,

With a power plant capacity of 12,000 horse-power.

Our city has seventy miles of streets,

And fifty miles of concrete side-walks.

The Escanaba Manufacturing Plant is the largest of its kind in the world!

In 1915, the export of iron ore from this port
Was 5,655,061 tons, with a value of about \$22,620,224!
This is the second largest iron port in the world,
And our bay can carry the largest boats that float!

But of the enterprise, the enthusiasm of our citizens; Their desire to move on, ever onward towards the goal, Who can estimate that subtle quality in its power To establish "Our Town"

As the "Best Town"

In Northern Michigan.

-E. M. Griffith.

PROLOGUE, CHANT AND OPENING PRESENTATION

PERSONS

Herald—Mark Bailey Messengers—Edwin Bergman Arthur Moran Father Time—Wallace Cobb Hidden Chorus—High School Pupils

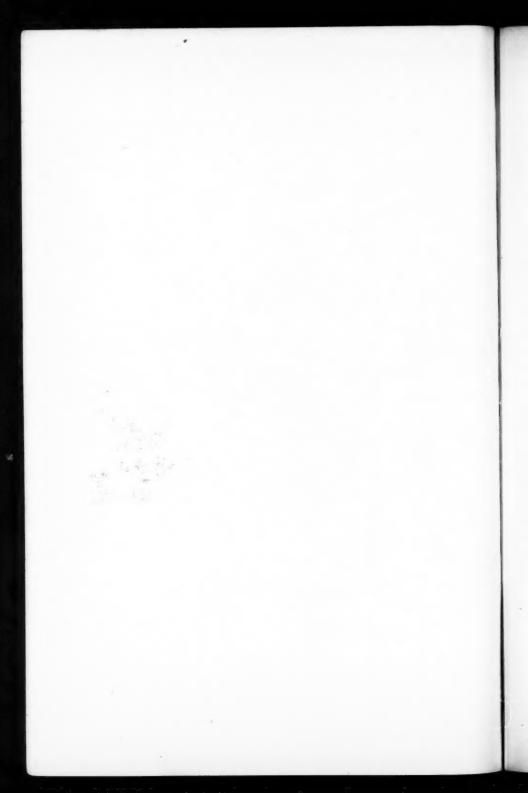
(Bugle call announces Herald)

THE PROLOGUE

Of the rushing Escanaba And the city of its borders, Skirted by the yellow sand dunes, And the pine trees softly murmuring; We will tell in song and story Scenes depicting both the ancient And the future. How the Indians, Puans, so they called them-lived here Many moons unknown to mankind. How they wandered in the forests Hunting antelope and wild geese; How they fished in Bay de Nocquette's Deep blue waters. Thus these Red men Spent their carefree, happy hours On the rushing Escanaba. Peaceful, thus, they lived and flourished, Heeding not the world around them. But the white men pushing westward,



HERALD AND ATTENDANTS



Hearing tales from many others

Who had ventured there before them,
Broke the stillness of the forest,

With the ringing of their axes,
And the crashing of the monarchs.

Fallen thus, these stately pine trees,
Never more to lift their branches

To the beauty of the heavens,
Soon became, by white man's prowess,

Dwelling places for the settlers
On the site of Escanaba.

Tales of Escanaba's future Reached the ears of those far distant; How the timber and resources Gave the promise of great riches. Railroads, then, displacing coaches, People flocked in goodly numbers. Docks they made out in the harbor Which is formed by nature's magic. Guiding weary sailors' progress Stood a light-house on the sand-bar. Mindful of their children's welfare Schools they built, and likewise churches. Thus they toiled, and grew, and flourished, Flourished in their undertakings, Till at last this humble village On the shores of Bay de Nocquette Grew into a lively city-THE METROPOLIS OF NORTHLAND.

Years have passed, and all is altered,-Lawns of green replace the sand dunes, Fragrant flowers and shrubs abundant Where the wild brush then was growing; Once a burial place for Indians Now the home of thrifty people. Belgians, Germans, Scandinavians, French and Irish, Scotch and Russians, Austrian, English and Italians Flocked here from their native countries; Citizens of our Republic Thus were joined in one great union, Working for the common welfare. Escanaba now is noted As a melting pot of nations. "Ever onward!" is our slogan. As the years increase in number, Let us strive to keep its spirit, Busiest, best and largest city, Cloverland's most sparkling jewel-Escanaba! Escanaba!

Music by BandMinor

Herald just before Father Time appears:

"Out of the mists that round thee lie, Come forth, O Spirit of years gone by."

Father Time enters with scythe in action.

Opening Chant (Hidden Chorus)

I came I know not whence—I go I know
Not whither. Eye of things created ne'er
Upon my coming looked, nor shall it see
My passing. First and last of all things I—
For I am Time.

Upon the whole of things that little man Calls universe, I looked ere yet the Hand Creative wrought. I saw when Order out Of Chaos came and suns and stars were born—

For I am Time.

I've seen the birth of man; seen how through strife
And strain and struggle man has doffed the brute
And donned the human; how with toil and tears
Man rises still, and learns that he is SOUL—
For I am Time.

Herald's Opening Presentation:

(After Father Time's Chant)
Ye who would learn the glory of your past
And form a forecast of the things to be,
Give heed to this, a city's trumpet blast,
And see her pictured life in pageantry.

Trumpet then signals action in Indian village.

FIRST EPISODE—EARLIEST TIMES

PERSONS

Indian Bride—Beatrice Johnson
Medicine Man—Hercules Primeau
Chippewa Chief—George Perrin
Menominee Chief—Edward Hodgkins
Indian Brave—Mr. R. J. Dodge
Bride's Mother—Helen Reade
Indian Warriors—Eighth Grade and High School
Indians, all sizes—Franklin School
Indian Maiden Dance—Eighth Grade
Indian Chief—Mr. L. E. Hutto
Squaw with Pappoose—Marguerite Corcoran

(Band plays Indian music during scene)

SCENE—Forest and Chippewa Indian village, several wigwams, totem poles, skins, squaws at work, one or more carries pappoose on back; one hangs pappoose on tree, basket-making, starting fires by rubbing sticks. Indian boys shooting with bows and arrows; more Indians appear from hunting, bring hides and furs, boasting by word and action. Chief and daughter come from largest wigwam. They talk. Indian maidens dance. A prominent brave appears, coming from a distance, stands erect, bows gravely to chief and daughter, lays presents at her feet. Brave sings solo, "Onaway, My Beloved." She brings water and food. He asks chief's consent to their union. Chief silently smokes and looks to daughter. She goes to young brave. (Trio from Indian music). They slowly leave together, looking backward toward the chief as they bid farewell.

Herald:

"Thus it is our daughters leave us, Those we love, and those who love us! Just when they have learned to help us, When we're old and lean upon them Comes a youth with flaunting feathers With his flute of reeds, a stranger Wanders piping through the village, Beckons to the fairest maiden, And she follows where he leads her, Leaving all things for the stranger!"

-(Hiawatha)

Canoes with other Chippewas appear, paddling swiftly. They land and rush to the chief, crying the alarm: "The Menominees; they come, they come!" Consternation follows and Medicine Man appears. Then the ceremony of foretelling by Medicine Man the result of the coming conflict. He indicates that the fates decide in favor of awaiting the attack and defending the village rather than of going out to meet the enemy. After putting on war paint, they give the War Dance.

Band Music"Indian Patrol" for the Dance
Band plays"Custer's Charge"

Menominee Indians appear and attack from both water and land.

Escanaba Chippewas defend successfully; charge into the water, upsetting canoes, throwing some Menominee Indians into the water, scalping some that do not escape. The victory is then celebrated with—

Scalp Dance—Indians all dance around in large circle with long poles upraised with dangling scalps suspended from them.

Burying the dead. Utensils buried with their own dead.

(Accompanied by funeral music by the Band)

SECOND EPISODE—COMING OF MISSIONARIES

PERSONS

Indian Squaws Chippewa Indians, Sailors, Fur Pappooses Traders, Indian Maidens Marquette—Harold Thompson

> Missionaries, Marquette and Party, 1673; Yacht appears coming around the point; Indians hear distant singing of sailors.

(Band plays "The Marseillaise"-French National Song)

Herald:

"See, there it comes, a bird, or a fish, with wings, but it swims. On its breast it bears men, white faces, black robes, and now they leave its embrace and in boats they come hither, drawn by the beauties of fair Escanaba."

(Marseillaise repeated softly until Cross is planted)

Gun fired from yacht as a salute.

Indians cry out in excitement, discharge arrows towards oncoming boats and flee towards forest shelter. Marquette and party extend arms and otherwise express friendliness. Marquette and party land, break arrows, giving gifts of gay cloth, beads, medals, etc. Party sets up Cross. Chief and other Indians bury hatchet. Break arrows, throw down bows.

As Cross is planted, Marquette comes forth and speaks:

Marquette: I come to discover and heal.

I bring the Cross,
To feed new tribes with its fire!
For the fire I bring burns not,
But heals the burning;
And the rod I bring is a shepherd's,
And the lillies he sends are white.
Here in the days to come,
Many shall find a home,
All nations come from afar,
To build the city Escanaba.

Missionaries' chant to Indians an impressive scene, astonishing and soothing them. Indians bring corn and dog flesh, etc. Whites accept other food, refuse dog flesh. Indians listen to message. Interpreters explain message of Christianity to them. Whites and Indians mingle freely. White fur-traders bargain with Indians. Tom-tom and clarinets. Young Indians dance while older ones talk, trade, show trinkets and eat together.

(Song of the Robin Dance.)

Herald enters and speaks:

"Lo, the Cross of Christ, the token
Comes and weapons now are broken.
White with gown and Red with feather
Learn in peace to live together.
Gradually fierce tribes are won
From war, and cities are begun.
Trade in furs strengthens alliance,
Together they bid all foes defiance,
Finding when war alarms did cease
Profitable for all are times of peace."

THIRD EPISODE—EARLY SETTLERS

PERSONS

School Teacher—Louise Northrup; Surveyors, Woodmen, Indian Maidens, White Maidens, School Children, Carpenters, Indians, Tracklayers.

(Indians still on scene. Enter white men from North with packs on backs, dressed in mackinaws; begin to survey for railroads and locate city)

TRIBUTE TO THE NOBILITY OF LABOR

Herald:

Behold Escanaba now is teeming with labor.

Labor-the comrade of fame and of glory.

Listen!-the axes ring loud round about us,

Swung by these men who are proud of their toiling.

Hewing a clearing and homes for their loved ones.

Labor shall ever be virtuous and honored;

Scorn it not idly, ye men of light thinking.

Who but the workman achieves all that's worthy?

Is it not labor that brings us good fortune?

Adding its blessings with each daily task.

Idleness brings not the sought-for contentment.

Through toil—and toil only—may all obtain peace.

(Follow crews who begin lumbering operations—cut trees, use saws and axes, place great kettle over fire before camp, typical lumbering operations)

As work goes on, enter white maidens in background, slowly.

Music-"Oh, Tell Me, Pretty Maiden".....from Florodora

(Men lay down implements to watch. Indians begin to leave, slowly moving away through forests or down to canoes,

SCENES FROM FIRST EPISODE

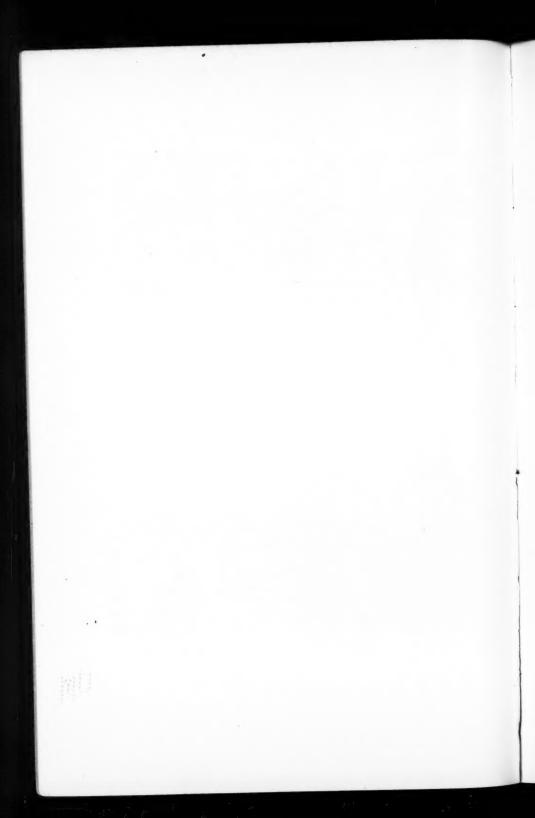


ONE OF MANY TEPEES SHOWING INDIAN HOME LIFE





The Indian Maiden dance typifies Indian life, showing various actions common to the Indian, such as first, the flame movement, imitating the flames of the Indian campfire: listening for sounds on the trail; stalking the deer; paddling the canoe; advancing toward and retreating from the enemy with bow and arrow, and at last gaining confidence to attack and ending with a leap over the fire.



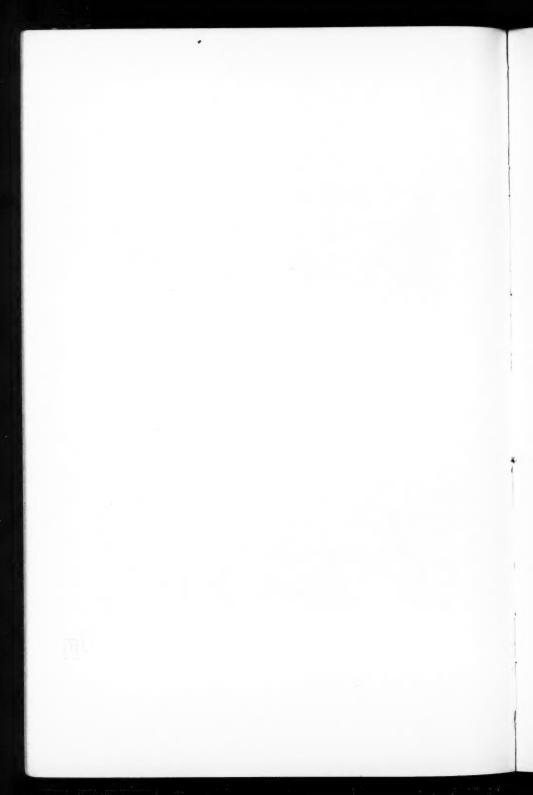
SECOND EPISODE



LANDING OF MARQUETTE AND PARTY



MARQUETTE PLANTS THE CROSS, WHILE INDIANS SOOTHED BY THE BEAUTIFUL STRAINS OF THE TE DEUM MINGLE WITH FUR TRADERS AND LISTEN



THIRD EPISODE



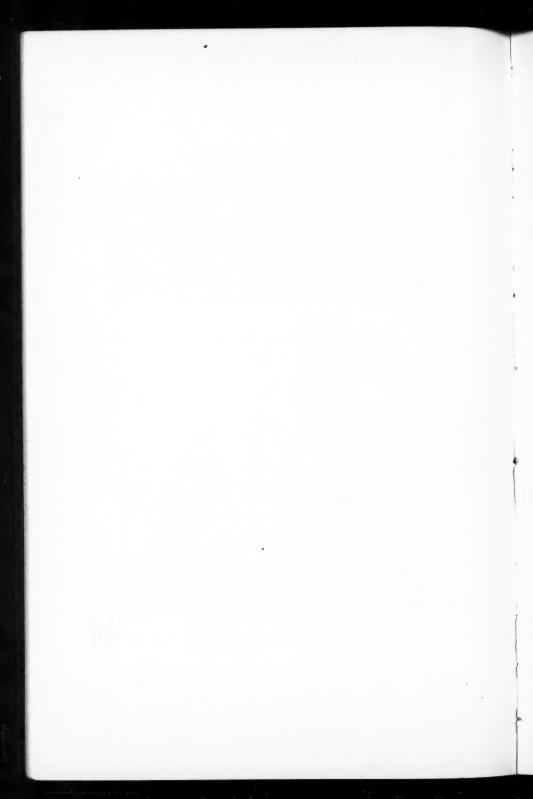
A CONTRAST DANCE

between Indian Girls and White Maidens; while many forms of labor are in progress, tepees are removed and all traces of Indian life vanish.



ONLY A GLIMPSE OF LABOR SCENES

R. R. building and felling trees; just out of view a school house is being built, • • the stage being too large for the small scenes.





SPIRIT OF ESCANABA ENTHRONED WELCOMES ALL NATIONALITIES Spirits of Truth, Freedom, Industry, Daring, Hospitality and Prosperity engage in a Figure Dance.





MANY NATIONALITIES SWARM UPON THE SCENE





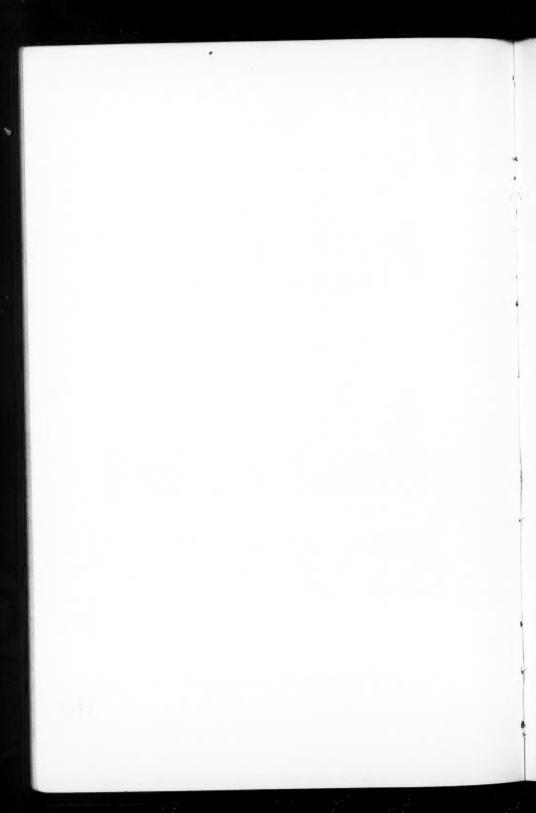
PICTURES WERE TAKEN OF SMALL GROUPS ONLY



FROM 75 TO 100 EACH OF FIFTEEN NATIONALITIES



ALL IN HOME-MADE COSTUMES

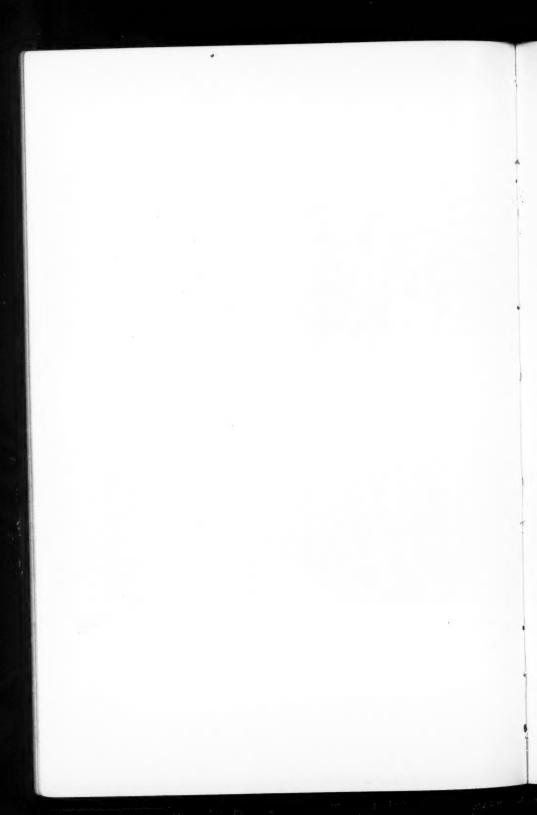




GAVE FOLK DANCES AND SANG THEIR NATIONAL SONGS



CHILDREN OF FRENCH OR SWEDISH OR IRISH DESCENT ACTED AS GERMAN, ITALIAN OR SCOTCH, AND VICE-VERSA

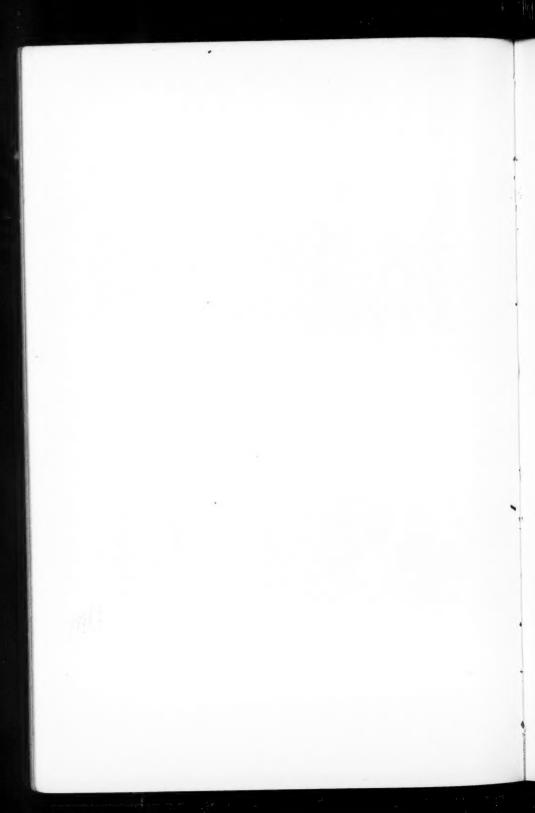




PART OF ONE OF FIFTEEN GROUPS



ALL GROUPS GAVE FOLK-SONG OR FOLK-DANCE



FIFTH EPISODE

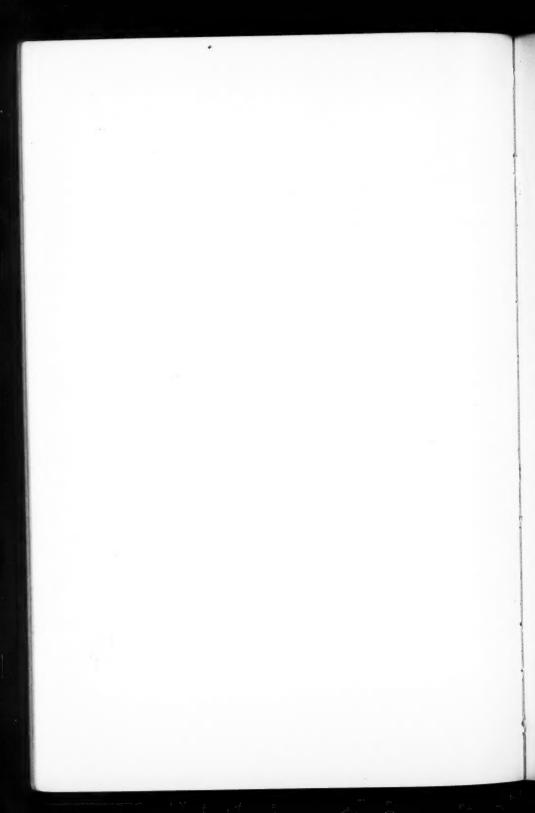


ALL NATIONALITIES BECOME AMERICAN



HUMAN FLAG

46 x 75 feet. 2500 pupils of all grades. Band plays and all sing "Michigan, My Michigan" and "Star Spangled Banner."



but Indian maidens linger on one side. Scene of contrasted dances of Indian and white maids at sides in the background, with Indian maidens at last departing, one by one. White maidens scatter)

(Woodsmen leave as surveyors begin work on platting of town site. Erection of school house follows. No break in work, one merging into the other)

Children come trooping from woods at call of hand bell.

Band Plays "School Days"

Teacher in front of school, tableau of children in sun bonnets, stiff starched skirts, etc., playing over grass in front of school, swings, teeters, ball games, etc. At call of teacher, children enter building.

Herald speaks:

THE PIONEERS

See the trail of the Pioneers
Blaze with desire and danger and hope.
Then there were forests to fell;
Fields to clear and to sow;
Floods to span, mines to shaft;
Wives to win (hard job, that,
For the rough pioneer, with little
To offer of comfort).
Cities to 'stablish and schools to
Maintain, and all this they did well,
And today we are proud
That they laid the foundation
And builded so well
The Fair City of Escanaba.

Band Plays"Auld Lang Syne"

PRELIMINARY TO FOURTH EPISODE

Herald:

THE MELTING POT

From the lands across the waters, To our shores so rich and bright, Fleeing their despotic rulers Foreigners come in many hundreds, Seeking freedom from oppression. Pioneers in this new country, Sturdy men from many nations. Settle down in homelike cabins Rudely hewn from pines and maples. Thinking of their children's future, Schools they built to teach their off-spring All the rudiments of learning. And because all work together, Respect the rights of one another, Side by side recite in common, All these things make better patriots. Gifts were made by every nation Of the foremost traits among them. First there came the smiles of France, Then there came the Northmen's daring, Followed by the German's thrift; Then came Russia with her emblem-Truth of purpose—steadfast—firm; Ireland's trait of ready wit,

Merged at last in this great country.

Equal all before the law,

Come from schools as melting pot—

American citizens—strong and noble;

Thus the school performs its mission.

FOURTH EPISODE—COMING OF NATIONALTIES

PERSONS

Spirit of Hospitality-Naomi Syverson Spirit of Escanaba-Esther Baldwin Spirit of Wanderlust-Content-Marie Gallagher Spirit of Oppression (Freedom)-Bessie Chiplovitz Spirit of Poverty-Prosperity-Eva Flemstrom Russian Group-Franklin School Swedish Group-Washington School French Group-Barr School Scotch Group-High School English Group-Washington School Hungarian Group-Webster School Spirit of Industry-Leta Shaw Spirit of Oppression-Freedom-Spirit of Daring (Norwegian)-Agnes Grant Spirit of Truth (Russian)-Kathleen Turner Spirit of Diplomacy (Japanese)-Kathleen O'Brien Dutch Group-Webster School Japanese Group-Washington School Norwegian Group-Jefferson School Irish Group-High School Italian Group-Barr School Swiss Group-Jefferson School German Group-Barr School

(Spirit of Escanaba sits enthroned, Hospitality near her) Hospitality addresses the Spirit of Escanaba:

Hospitality: It has been whispered among the spirits that many people from foreign lands have sought our shores. This is indeed good news, for much have we to offer them. Welcome are they to our land and to this great State. Here in this city will they make their homes.

(Meantime groups of people enter—French, Swedish, Irish, Dutch and Scotch. Hospitality goes forth to meet them)

Hospitality: Greetings to you, fair strangers; make merry among yourselves that the spirits may know you rejoice in coming, and delight in what you have found here.

(Dances—Nationalities in succession, each retiring to background. Spirit of Wanderlust enters, haggard and tired; following her are Poverty and Oppression. (Wanderers song is sung)

Wanderlust to Escanaba: In foreign lands were these people discomforted. Oppression and Poverty bore hard upon them. My spirit possessed them and led them to wander. Long have they roamed from land to land. Growing weary of us, they bid us depart, and now seek shelter and homes in your fair city.

Hospitality: Welcome are they to our city. (Turns to Wanderlust.) But why do ye depart? Can ye not cast off these outer garments of weary search, of Poverty and Oppression, and become spirits of Content, of Prosperity, and of Freedom?

Wanderlust: Ah, this is hope indeed. Let us try.

(The three spirits drop cloaks and appear as beautiful spirits in robes of white and gold. Wanderlust speaks again)

Wanderlust: I am the Spirit of Content; my people, behold Prosperity and Freedom. Sing and rejoice.

(Italians, English, Swiss, Hungarians sing while the three spirits, Content, Prosperity and Freedom dance in background. All retire)

Spirit of Escanaba speaks:

Escanaba: (Norwegians, Russians, Germans and Japs are seen in distance approaching.) Much have these people brought me, much has this city been enriched by their coming. Yet much more do we need. See these people in the distance. May it not be that they bring what we wish? (Calls.) Escanaba needs the Spirit of Thrift, of Industry and Efficiency. If this spirit is among you, let her come forth.

(Spirit of the Germans enters, running; bows to Escanaba and is followed by German people)

Escanaba: Escanaba needs the Spirit of Diplomacy—if she is to be found among you, let her come forth.

(Enter Spirit of Japs, which does as German Spirit)

Escanaba: Escanaba needs the Spirit of Strength, of Daring, the Spirit of the Viking.

(Enter Spirit of Norwegians, which repeats same as German and Jap)

Escanaba: Escanaba needs the Spirit of Truth, that spirit that will make men die for a principle.

(Enter Spirit of Russia, followed by her people. The four spirits join hands and give a pretty spirit dance. They form a figure, with the Germans, Russians, Japs and Norwegians in the background)

Herald: (Speaks preparatory to next Episode:
So behold these many nations,
Joined here thus, for one great purpose,
Seeking shelter from oppression,
Come at last to our fair city.

And forgetful of their home-land,

Now we find them 'round about us,
Firmly linked in strong allegiance

To our country and our emblem,
Merged in this great powerful nation,
Loyal now, and ever shall be.

FIFTH EPISODE

(All Nationalities Become Americans)

PERSONS

Uncle Sam—Carroll Rushton
Spirit of Education—Majorie King
Goddess of Liberty—Isabel Winegar
Human Flag—2,500 Pupils from all Schools

Enter Uncle Sam and Goddess of Liberty. Uncle Sam, holding aloft banner

marked "Ordinance of 1787," says:

"Religion, Morality and Knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, SCHOOLS and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

Enter Spirit of Education. Uncle Sam and Goddess of Liberty welcome her and crown her with wreaths of flowers. She sits enthroned while representatives of nations and industries come and pay homage to her. Joining hands they circle around her.

Spirit of Education says:

God has made of one blood all nations of men, and we are his children, brothers and sisters ALL. We are citizens of these United States, and our flag stands for self-sacrifice for the good of all the people. To be true citizens of our great country, we must show our love for her by our works. Our country ask us not only to die for her; she asks us to live for her, and so to live, and so to act that her government may be pure, her officers honest, and every part of her territory filled with true patriots.

Uncle Sam says:

Let us then speed the day when oppression shall cease, And everyone live as a friend and a neighbor, Education be crowned with the fair flowers of peace, And hand clasping hand in the Kingdom of Labor.

Though it seems far away, let us toil as we pray; Let us sing as we march toward the dawn of that day When the banners of freedom shall all be unfurled, And the sun shall arise on the peace of the world.

Band plays March

All pupils form human flag.

Band plays and all sing "Michigan, My Michigan" and "Star Spangled Banner."

BAND AND VOCAL MUSIC PROGRAM

The Band Program of Music for the Pageant includes:

-FIRST EPISODE-

Indian Music; Indian Dance; Tomahawk Dance, Herman; Indian War
Funeral March, Chopin
Dance, Bellstedt; Death of Custer, Johnson

-SECOND EPISODE-

Marseillaise French National Song

-THIRD EPISODE-

O Tell Me, Pretty Maiden, Florodora Colonial Gavotte
School Days Auld Lang Syne

-FOURTH EPISODE-

Ghost Dance, Salisbury; French Reel; Bleking Dance; Irish Lilt;
Dutch Costume Dance; Morning Mood; Peer Gynt Suite,
Grieg; Highland Fling

-FIFTH EPISODE-

March Star Spangled Banner Michigan, My Michigan

VOCAL MUSIC PROGRAM

All the music numbers have been carefully selected so that they are in keeping with the spirit of the Pageant throughout and will prove a feature of the Pageant program.

DANCES

The Highland Fling, as Scotch as the thistle itself, has been trod by Highland chiefs in victories dear to memory to the accompaniment of the strathspey or bagpipe.

The Irish Lilt expresses by its rhythmic music of the foot the happy, carefree disposition and true Hibernian wit of the Irish.

In the "Contrast Dance" the Indians are represented as reigning supreme over all they survey until white settlers approach, who in optimistic egoism sue for the friendship and good will of the Indians. The Indians, at first repulsing them, are finally won by the friendly advances of the whites, who take advantage of their privileges and eventually crowd the Indians out of their possessions.

The four spirits symbolizing Truth, Industry, Daring, and Diplomacy, express themselves in interpretive dance until they are surrounded by people of the four nationalities,—Russian, German, Norwegian and Japanese,—of which they are respectively characteristic.

The Swedish "Bleking" is gay and energetic, the movements forceful and vigorous. The pantomimic expression of the first part is playful resistance; of the second, joyful success.

The Norwegian dance, like the Swedish, is full of life. The dance expresses typical mountain life, showing the guide leading a couple up the mountain side.

The Costume dance is characteristic of the Dutch; slow, yet showing strength.

The Indian Maiden dance typifies Indian life, showing various actions common to the Indian, such as first, the flame movement, imitating the flames of the Indian campfire; listening for sounds on the trail; stalking the deer; paddling the canoe; advancing toward and retreating from the enemy with bow and arrow, and at last gaining confidence to attack and ending with a leap over the fire.

SONG OF THE ROBIN

An Interpretive Dance by CATHERINE M. CLARK (White Child)
Assisted by RUTH ROCHE (Indian Child)

Introduction-

- (a) Robin discovered.
- (b) Child delighted by song.
- (a) Child tries to follow flight from tree to tree.
 (b) Bird cannot be found; disappointment shown.
- 2. Listening to song and dancing for joy of it.
- Robin hops about on ground; child plays with it and tries to catch it.
- Child dances to please robin and appeals to it to sing again. Interlude—

Indian Child appeals to robin to sing.

- (a) Bird begins flight; White Child begins to dance again, hoping to make him stay.
 - (b) Both children follow its flight.

Postlude-

- (a) White Child tells Indian Child robin will not sing; is going.
- (b) Indian Child entreats White Child to dance again.
- (c) White Child says it is no use to dance.
- (d) Both watch it fly away.
- (e) Farewell to vanishing robin.

REMINISCENCES OF THE MACKINAC COUNTRY

By Brayton Saltonstall ling, darled u.

MY earliest recollections are associated with Northern Michigan. My father, William Saltonstall, was one of the pioneers of Chicago, going there in 1835 by way of the Great Lakes in a sailing vessel. His first stop however was made at Mackinac Island. It was an involuntary stop, for having taken advantage of the opportunity to go ashore he became so engrossed in exploring its beauties, so captivated by its natural charms that he did not heed the passing hours and when finally he returned to the beach his ship had sailed and he was left marooned upon the Fairy Isle! Facilities for transportation were few in those days and he had time to form a closer acquaintance with his surroundings before an opportunity offered to leave its shores. He then formed an

^{1.} Mr. Brayton Saltonstall of Charlevoix, Michigan, is a direct descendant of that excellent Puritan Knight, Sir Richard Saltonstall, who led a colony from England to Massachusetts Bay in 1630, and also of John Winthrop, its first governor. The pioneer spirit seems to have been inherited, for his own parents were pioneers to Chicago in 1835, where he was born in 1848, and having seen it grow from a little city of twenty thousand inhabitants to a great metropolis of two and a half millions his mind is full of reminiscences. Educated in the public schools of his native city he went abroad in 1871 and spent a season in Paris in the study of the French language in preparation for a position in London where a knowledge of it was necessary. After three years spent there he was glad to return to America for which his attachment had been increased by absence. Occupied with clerical duties till 1895

attachment which drew him back in after years, and although he was nominally a resident of Chicago, much of his time was spent at Mackinac.

He eventually secured a contract from the U. S. Government to supply the garrison there with provisions. In those days of water communication the Island was cut off from its base of supplies in winter, and my father was in the habit of embarking with a load of provisions late in the fall, usually upon the last trip of the steamboat before navigation closed. Arrived at the Island he would remain till after the close of navigation, and leaving his business with a clerk would put on his snowshoes, hitch his two dogs to a sled and with the mail-carriers for company, walk to Detroit and then home by rail to join his family in Chicago.

On one of these trips he met with shipwreck. He had embarked upon the steamer Westmoreland with a load of provisions, late in the fall, and when they reached Sleeping Bear point the lake was full of floating ice. Laboring in the floes the steamer sprung a leak. She filled so rapidly that

he then became a member of the Chicago Stock Exchange, being a familiar figure upon its floor for ten years. He was married in 1905 to Miss Annie M. Bell, the elder daughter of the Hon, George W. Bell, of Cheboygan, Michigan, and has now retired to his bungalow in Charlevoix to devote his declining years to his interests as a churchman, a citizen and a father. From early childhood his summer vacations were spent in Northern Michigan, and to its pure air and sparkling waters as well as to a rugged constitution received from his sturdy father, his own good health is largely due, and with that unimpaired by advancing years, "he hopes for an evening of heart's content in the winter of life, without lament that summer is gone or its hours misspent and the harvest past recall." The above reminiscences were given at the Petoskey meeting of the State Pioneer and Historical Society, February 24, 1916.-Ed.

all hands hurriedly took to the small boats. As the boat sank beneath the icy waters the whines and howls of a dog were heard, one which my father had chained in his stateroom and had not time to release. A passage to the shore seemed to open between the cakes of ice and the ship's party reached the shore in safety. My father was in the habit of carrying a metal matchbox and by means of the wax matches contained in it a fire was built which proved a great comfort to them all. The Westmoreland lies today at the bottom of the lake with her cargo intact and the dog chained in its watery sepulcher.

My father was a gentleman of the old school, very scrupulous in his dress. He sometimes wore a blue cloth cutaway coat with velvet collar and smooth brass buttons, a brocaded silk velvet waistcoat, ruffled shirt, and stick pins fastened together with a slender gold chain. When he reached home after that shipwreck his own children did not recognize him, his red flannel shirt instead of the dainty linen ruffles so changed his appearance.

My father's attachment to the Island was shared by the whole family who esteemed it a privilege to spend the summers there; exchanging the heat and mosquitoes in Chicago for the delightful climate of Mackinac, so free from those drawbacks, was a boon for which we have ever been grateful. In 1855, I think it was, we occupied the old Government Agency building standing on its spacious grounds well back from the beach just under the Fort hill east of the present Marquette Park which at that time was the Fort garden enclosed with a palisade of cedar posts embedded close together side by side. It was in this historic house that the opening scene of Constance Fenimore Woolson's novel "Anne" is laid,

and in a late edition there is a good picture of the old relic, which has long since disappeared and is now replaced by modern summer houses. I remember seeing in front of it a long line of wigwams strung along the beach, occupied by Indians who had come in their canoes to attend the annual payment by the United States Government. I remember seeing a little pappoose, bound in its cradle, hanging within reach upon a stick stuck up in the beach, as composed and complacent as if it were a picture hung upon a wall, while its dusky mother busied herself cooking the coming repast in a kettle hanging on a pole over a crackling bonfire of cedar wood emitting its peculiar spicy odor. In spite of the paternal precautions of Uncle Sam in paying them in merchandise rather than in cash, the poor Indians were systematically despoiled by the unscrupulous whites, often leaving the scene poorer than when they arrived.

In 1856 we occupied the Abbot home, a relic of the palmy days of the American Fur Company, a colonial mansion, the gable projecting over the porch being supported by large fluted pillars contrasting strangely with the primitive log structures in its vicinity, some covered with plaster, with roofs of cedar bark. I have a large photograph of this house taken that summer which I value very highly. It takes in Astor street with the old warehouse of the Fur Company, the Fort, and in the foreground stands an old-fashioned two-wheeled dray of which we see no more examples in the present day. Photography was in its infancy then. The artist, a Frenchman with a German name, Wernigk, had recently come to Chicago from Paris, bringing his camera with him. His wife, also an artist, painted portraits in pastel. She had done my eldest sister's portrait in Chicago, and because they

were not meeting with success my father invited them to spend a season with us in Mackinac. Monsieur Wernigk taught the children French and Madame painted the portraits of every member of the family. When they were leaving us to return to Chicago, Mons. Wernigk was very busy packing his trunk, expecting the steamer momentarily, and I, a little boy, was pestering him with questions; finally, his patience exhausted, he exclaimed petulantly, "Laisse moi tranquil" (Let me alone), which I proceeded to do at once. He completed his packing in time to catch the boat, the steamer Niagara, but how often have I wished since that I had prevented it, for the steamer was burned in Lake Michigan and nothing more was ever heard of our artist friends. They were undoubtedly among the lost. They had left a little daughter in Europe and it became my father's melancholy duty to inform her of their sad fate in a strange land.

That summer a company of volunteers was raised to drive the Mormons from Beaver Island, and when they returned they brought a drove of horses which they turned loose on Mackinac Island. My father selected a little pony from the lot for us children and it became a great pet with us. We used to make him "laugh" by feeding him pickles; he would turn back his lips, show his teeth and grin at us.

Having rented our home in Chicago for a year we spent the winter of 1855-56 on the Island, and although cut off from the world as we were, the time passed very pleasantly; coasting down the Fort hill, skating, sleighing and ice-boating on the Straits filled the idle hours. Dancing parties in the hotel dining-rooms, with two or three old time fiddlers, attracted the young and the old. I remember seeing my father take a man for a partner and tire him and the fiddlers to a "stand-

still" in a waltzing contest, whirling around the room alone to clinch the victory. No telling how long he could have continued.

My mother was of a more serious turn of mind. She started a Sunday School in the barber-shop of the Lasley house, and I helped by cutting firewood to keep it warm. About July 1. 1856 our house took fire. There was no fire protection. The soldiers from the Fort came down and formed a bucket brigade from the house to the Straits, about a hundred yards away, passing buckets of water to the burning building, but to little purpose. They retarded the flames but could not extinguish them. We were able to save most of the furniture. but the building burned to the foundation. We moved into another house and spent the summer there. My eldest sister. having been at School in Chicago, was on her way up the Lake on the steamer Lady Elgin to join us when she met a foreign gentleman who was with a company traveling to Lake Superior, but who instead of continuing with his traveling companions stopped at Mackinac to continue the acquaintance he had so recently formed. The opportunities afforded by picnics, strolls and horse-back rides through those sylvan retreats were not neglected. My sister returned to school and he to his affairs in England; but on the first day of June, 1858, they were married, in Chicago, and after a year spent in travel and study in Europe they settled down in London. where they both died in 1898, leaving a family of five children -a grandson now a volunteer in the English army is fighting with the Allies in Europe.

MEMORIES OF NORTHERN MICHIGAN

By Archibald Buttars¹
Charlevoix

FIRST saw Emmet County nearly sixty years ago. a boy of seventeen I had left my home in Huron County in July, 1856, to find a new home. I took passage in a small vessel called the Rover. The vessel was commanded and owned by Captain Samuel Horton, who with his family had left Toledo, Ohio, in May of that year to sail for Grand Haven, Michigan. I soon found that the Rover, while commodious and comfortable, was a poor sailor and could not make any headway unless the wind was favorable. We were three weeks on the way from the Au Sable River before we reached Point Wahgoschanc, stopping on the way at Alpena, Presque Isle and Cheboygan. When we reached Point Wahgoschanc our provisions had nearly run out and we were detained there three days by strong head winds and supplemented our supply of food with wild raspberries that were plentiful there, and with crawfish that we got from the lake.

^{1.} Mr. Archibald Buttars was born in Manchester, England, November 21, 1838, the eldest son of David Buttars of Kerrimeiur, Scotland, and Esther Walley of Manchester, England. His father emigrated to the United States in April, 1849, settling at Cincinnati, until September, 1852, when he moved to Huron County, Michigan, being a member of the firm of Hanks, Thompson & Buttars, who had built a sawmill on the Pinnebog River in Huron County in the year 1851. Here Mr. Buttars lived until he went to Emmet County in 1856. The substance of the above reminiscences was given at the midwinter meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society at Petoskey, February 24, 1916.—Ed.

On the morning of the third day the wind was fair and we were enabled to make Little Traverse Harbor late in the afternoon. Anchoring inside the bay, near the point, we went ashore to get provisions. Charles Wright and family lived on Harbor Point and he was engaged making fish barrels. Across the bay was the Indian village of L'Arbre Croche with a store kept by Richard Cooper, whose principal trade was with the Indians and fishermen. Across the main bay to the west was another Indian village on the present site of the city of Petoskey, and a Presbyterian mission school under the charge of Mr. Andrew Porter.

We were in Little Traverse Harbor about a week before we had a fair wind to proceed on our journey, which carried us opposite the mouth of Pine River where Charlevoix is now located, where we anchored for the night. Going ashore we found that the mouth of the river was very shallow, with a swift current, and the river choked with fallen timber from either bank, with a narrow channel cut through the center for the passage of boats. On the south bank of the river, near its mouth, was a rude gallows which we afterwards learned was erected by the Mormons, upon which they hung an effigy of Honorable John S. Dixon who owned the land there, and whom they had driven away the year before, but who at this time had returned.

On the north bank was a high bluff, surmounted by five pine trees that could be seen quite a distance from the lake and which no doubt gave it its name of "Pine River." The Government maps called it "Green River," and the lake from which it flowed, "Long Lake." The bluff on its side was bare of bushes, and about five feet from its top several birch-bark coffins protruded in which I found flint arrowheads and stone

hammers. About twenty-five years afterward a Mr. J. M. Clark, in excavating for a cellar on his lot on Mason Street, Charlevoix, found under a large pine stump, flint arrowheads, copper beads and a stone hammer, apparently belonging to some race of people long extinct.

The next morning, the wind being again ahead, Captain Horton took his vessel up to the first lake, now called Round Lake. I followed a path through the woods on the north side, that led to Pine Lake and found there the family of John S. Dixon, and on the south side of the river was another settler, Medad Thompson, and family. Mr. Thompson's wife and children were Mormons who had refused to go away when the Mormons were driven from Beaver Island early that summer. I liked the looks of this place and told Captain Horton I would not go any further with him, and hired out to Mr. Dixon to work on his farm.

The wind continuing ahead, Mr. Horton finally sailed up Pine Lake and settled on a Mormon clearing near the bay now called after him "Horton's Bay."

I worked for Mr. Dixon until late in October and then made a bargain with Mr. Thompson for my board and lodging until spring, working for him half of my time and for myself the other half. Part of my work for him consisted of grinding in a large iron coffee mill the corn and buckwheat for the daily use of the family.

The country was an unbroken forest from Bear River, Emmet County, on the north, to Elk Rapids in Antrim County on the south, and the families of Mr. Dixon and Mr. Thompson were the only white people living between the two places, except in the fishing season when fishermen temporarily stopped at Pine River and Petobego on the east shore of Grand Traverse Bay during the fishing season.

There were no Indians at Pine River then; two bands from Northport came the next year and settled there. There were no roads or trails between Bear River and Elk Rapids, the only means of communication being by boat on Lake Michigan or along the shore of the lake. The Marquette trail at Petoskey is a myth, and of recent make.

Mr. Thompson had barely enough provisions for the winter and the unexpected return of his eldest son to stay with him necessitated my departure, so on the morning before Christmas day 1856 I started on foot for Elk Rapids fifty-five miles away. Young Mr. Thompson assured me that there were fishermen camped at Petobego, twenty miles this side of Elk Rapids, and that I was sure of a night's lodging and meals there.

I started out with two hard biscuits for my noonday lunch, and two matches. I found good traveling until I reached Fisherman's Island at the mouth of Grand Traverse Bay. There the ice banks on the shore had formed, compelling me to walk near the bank and the way was much obstructed by fallen timber, and added to this the wind began to blow hard into my face, accompanied by a furious snow-storm which nearly blinded me; consequently my progress was slow, and it was dark when I passed the present site of Norwood village and I was yet a long distance from my supposed stopping place. Fortunately the snow-storm soon ceased and the full moon lighted my way; thus I was enabled to see the bank and keep a lookout for the fisherman's house. I was very tired, the snow being over a foot deep, and I made slow progress. At times I looked for a sheltered place where I might rest, but

was afraid if I did so I might rest forever. My under-clothing was saturated with perspiration and I feared I could not go ahead much longer, but about midnight, as near as I could judge, I saw on the bank the form of a house; with visions of food and a bed I climbed the bluff only to find a deserted shanty with half of its roof gone, the door hanging by one hinge and the floor covered with snow. I kicked the snow from the floor under the little roof and found the bottom part of an old stove: I cleaned the snow from it, dug in the adjacent woods for fuel and with one of my two matches soon had a fire and ate one of my two hard biscuits. As I dared not sleep I sat up all night replenishing my fire and singing all the songs and hymns I could remember, until daylight came on the Christmas morning of 1856, and as someone has said, I thanked God and with renewed courage started on my way.

The second day's tramp was long and wearisome. I was very tired and sore from the previous day's tramp, and it was dark when I reached the store of Dexter and Noble at the outskirts of Elk Rapids.

I stayed at and about Elk Rapids working in the sawmill and lumber woods of Dexter & Noble for three years. From there I went to Traverse City and finally in the fall of 1863 was employed by the firm of Campbell & Goodrich, of Northport, as clerk and bookkeeper.

In the spring of 1869 I became the junior member of the firm of Fox, Rose & Buttars at Charlevoix. In 1871 the firm purchased the land upon which H. O. Rose's house stands, and where the lime quarries now are.

In June, 1872 Mr. Rose and myself, with a large scow, brought a load of groceries, boots, shoes and drygoods and

opened the first store within the bounds of the present city of Petoskey just west of the mouth of Bear River, in a log house belonging to Ignatius Petosega. We afterwards built a store on Mitchell Street.

In 1881 the firm of Fox & Rose, which had been in existence since 1851, was dissolved by the two partners in about twenty minutes; an amicable division of their property was made and the firm of Fox, Rose & Buttars dissolved at the same time. H. O. Rose and myself continued in business at Petoskey as Rose & Buttars, until the fall of 1883, when we dissolved, divided our goods, and I moved to Charlevoix.

In 1884, in company with A. R. Upright, we formed a private bank at Charlevoix under the name of the Farmer's & Merchant's Bank: that, in the following year, was incorporated into the Charlevoix Savings Bank. In 1899 Honorable John Nicholls, Harry Nicholls, Fremont L. Lewis and myself bought the assets of the Charlevoix Savings Bank and organized a private bank under the name of the Charlevoix County Bank, which is still doing business under the same name, the present co-partners being the Estate of John Nicholls, Archibald Buttars and Albert F. Bridge. I acted as cashier until the fall of 1913, a period of twenty-three years. Failing eyesight compelled my retirement from active duties. In 1915 I was elected president of this bank on the death of Honorable John Nicholls who had held the office since February, 1899.

I cast my first vote for Abraham Lincoln for the presidency in 1860, and have been an active Republican all my life. I was elected State Senator in 1880 to represent the thirtieth senatorial district of Michigan, and was re-elected to the same office for the twenty-ninth senatorial district and chosen as president pro tempore of the Senate at that session of the

Legislature. I was elected Lieutenant Governor in the election of 1884 for the years 1885-86 and twice during the absence of Governor Alger from the State was Acting Governor. I retired from active politics at the close of my term as Lieutenant Governor.

I have been a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Charlevoix since February, 1874, and was chosen as lay delegate to the M. E. General Conference at Los Angeles in 1904.

I was married twice; first to Celia E. Moses of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1864, who died in July, 1875; second to Emma C. Blinn of Shelburn, Vermont, October 3, 1895. I had only one child, a daughter by my first marriage, Essie J., now the wife of E. F. Parmalee, business manager of the San Diego Union at San Diego, California. I have three grand-children, Harold P., an Ensign in the United States Navy; Clair, the wife of Lieutenant Frank P. Kelly, also in the Navy on the West Coast, and Archibald Buttars Parmalee now at Buckley University. I have three great-grand-children.

I am now enjoying my old age at Charlevoix, Michigan. which has been my home for the past forty-seven years.

[The statement made by Mr. Buttars at Petoskey that the Marquette trail is a myth aroused considerable discussion subsequently, and at the request of the Society he has submitted the following data as his foundation for the statement.—Ed.]

I resided at what is now the city of Charlevoix, Michigan, part of the month of August, all of September, October, November and until the 24th day of December, 1856. At that time there were only two white families residing there; two others settling on Pine Lake later in the year. No Indian

bands resided at that time within the present boundaries of Charlevoix County. There was no trail leading from Charlevoix either to Bear Creek on the north or to Elk Rapids on the south. Mrs. Dixon, with whom I stayed, informed me that during the previous year, having to go to Bear Creek on urgent business, she was compelled to go by way of the beach of Lake Michigan, as there was no trail through the woods.

I spent a good deal of my time in the woods getting ready to set a line of traps for winter trapping and I never saw a trace of any trail, except over on the north side from the mouth of Pine River to Mr. Dixon's residence on Pine Lake, and one on the south side from the mouth of the river to Medad Thompson's. I was compelled, myself, when I went from Pine River to Elk Rapids in December of that year, to walk on the beach.

In the spring, summer and fall of 1857, with a Mr. Albert W. Bacon, I worked for the G. R. & I. Railroad Company examining their lands granted them by the United States Government to aid in building their present line of railroad. Our place of work extended from the east shore of Grand Traverse Bay to lands east of the present line of the G. R. & I. Railroad in township 29-30 north from range 5 to 9 west, and we never saw any trails or traces of trails running north and south.

There was a trail commencing on the south shore of the Round Lake of the Elk Rapids chain of lakes and running in a southeasterly direction, which was called the Saginaw Trail. This was well defined and much traveled by the bands of Indians at Skegemog and Kewadin, near Elk Rapids. I owned a small farm on Round Lake, where the trail commenced, and my place was known as the "Depot."

For corroborative evidence that Father Marquette never was at Petoskey on the said Marquette Trail, I would refer to his *Journal*, and to the map of Marquette's journeys and missions made by him and published by Burroughs Brothers & Company, Cleveland, Ohio, in *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 59, opposite page 108.